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ART. I. — *Householders in Danger from the Populace.* By
EDWARD GIBBON WAKEFIELD, Esq. Effingham Wilson.
London. 1831.

THE pamphlet before us presents a picture of the British metropolis almost too horrible for contemplation. According to the statements it contains, nearly one hundred thousand inhabitants in that capital of the world are banded together for the constant and ferocious perpetration of terrible crimes. Over this vast multitude the restraints of civilized life are dissolved. Neither shame, nor conscience, nor punishment has any control. Duty and religion and eternity are equally without influence. One common object excites them. All their efforts are exerted to produce a state of confusion and anarchy, and thereby "to pluck sensual enjoyments in the midst of blood and fire!"

The London "populace," according to this account, is composed of classes, which suppose themselves to have interests at variance with the community, and are "opposed to the protective laws, by which society is upheld." These classes are described to be, first, "common thieves," of whom, the writer says, thirty thousand are always at large in London. Secondly, "the rabble," amounting to fifty thousand more, "whose extreme poverty, frequent unsatisfied hunger and brutalizing pursuits render them as dishonest as thieves." Thirdly, "desperadoes," the disciples of Owen and followers of Hunt, less numerous, but quite as troublesome; men of rather weak intellect, but noisy, egotistical,

VOL. XIII. — N. S. VOL. VIII. NO. I. 1

and boastful, bent on the overthrow of existing laws, with a view to the formation of a new state of society, in which there shall exist a perfect equality of property, or rather no property at all, as we use the word, but a community of goods. Fourthly, "women of the lowest character," not less than ten thousand, "likely to prove a more effective force on the side of confusion and rapine, than the same number of men."

These classes are represented to be so entirely above the law, that they collect in large numbers without fear of the police; and Mr. Wakefield says, that he saw seven thousand common thieves in various parts of the town on the ninth of November, 1830, when it was expected that the king would visit Guildhall, prepared, in case of a political disturbance, "to sack the town." Yet the police, thus set at nought, we know to be both numerous and active, more than seventy thousand persons having, from one cause or another, been brought within its operations during the past year.

If Mr. Wakefield's statements be entitled to credit, society in London, and by consequence in the whole kingdom of Great Britain, is in the very process of disintegration. Our first inquiry then should be, whether he is worthy of belief; and we confess, that on his own character alone we should hesitate to give him our confidence. That he was confined in Newgate, where persons of his education and capacity are not commonly found, may have given him some unusual means of information; but neither the cause of his imprisonment, nor the imprisonment itself, has inspired us with much respect for his character. We should doubt whether he had those moral qualities that make a witness credible, and may fear, that, having been a sojourner in that perilous place, he abuses our credulity with traveller's fictions, and tells us tales of

"Cannibals that each other eat,
The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders!"

But his statements are not without corroboration. Colquhoun's "*Police of London*," many years since, apprized us of the existence of a vast fermenting mass of corrupt materials. A treatise on the police and crimes of the metropolis, of which an account was given in our number for November, 1829, increased an apprehension of growing evil; and the ju-

dicial reports and examination of evidence before the commissioners for amending the laws, without letting us so deeply into the history of this depravity, render the account that is given of it in the pamphlet before us, probable in most of its details, and in some of them certainly to be taken as true.

Supposing then that this narration is faithful in its statements, we are not about to call the attention of our readers to it for the sake of exulting at the more fortunate condition of our own communities, or of contrasting "the domestic manners of the Americans," which have recently afforded so much mirth to our English contemporaries, with the dangerous dissoluteness of their refined society. We advert to it for own warning and security. The moral pestilence that visits others, may make an irruption on our shores; and it is our duty to put up what barriers we may against its introduction here, and assist in preserving those which are already erected.

We deem this the more desirable, because there is an unfortunate sympathy between our people and the people of England, which exposes us to evils at any time prevailing among them. Notwithstanding the difference and the distance between us, we often feel the residuum of the shock, the first force of which is there expended. Fashion, dress, expense, and the forms of social intercourse are regulated, in our humble way, by a standard which is there prescribed. This may be accounted for; but opinion, taste, and morals are often subjected to a foreign control, which it is as difficult to explain as resist. If the people in England are uneasy, our people grow restless. If their degraded and half-starved laborers complain, and especially if they do any thing to make their complaints heard, a tone of querulousness is heard here among our respectable and flourishing workmen. If effort is there made for reforming their ancient and decayed establishments, some among us become dissatisfied with the freedom of our thrifty institutions. If abroad there are combinations against established, but oppressive laws, the example is contagious enough to give us trouble, even in the milder form in which the malady presents itself.

It is important, in the first place, to look at some of the causes which have produced the unhappy state of things

that is said to exist. The tendency of the English government is to separate the interests of classes of people from each other, to accumulate the wealth of the rich, and aggravate the poverty of the poor, and this appears to us to be one of the most active causes for the calamity described in Mr. Wakefield's pamphlet.

Great Britain has been, for many years, rapidly advancing in wealth. A commerce of great prosperity, a productive agriculture, and a manufacturing power, whose ingenious machinery seems like a magical substitute for human labor, have increased prodigiously its integral wealth. But how has it been divided? By nothing like the equal or proportionate ratio of the population that acquired it. Vast fortunes have been accumulated, and possessions been multiplied in the hands of the lords of the soil. Great proprietors have increased, because surplus capital has been constantly growing larger; but the small patrimony of the less wealthy has as rapidly decayed, the numbers of the dependent have grown larger, and the ranks of indigence and misery become every day more crowded. Great wealth and great poverty have been the consequences; and each of these brings with itself peculiar dangers to the moral condition of the people. Refinement of manners to a certain extent is undoubtedly one of the truest marks of cultivation and elevation of mind, and is in a good degree the result of those advantages which affluence procures; but when this refinement is stretched, as it may be, into a voluptuous and luxurious sensuality, when it is devoted to a self-indulgence which taxes all the powers of reason to satiate it, when this excessive wealth, though it may throw off some of its superfluity in grand objects of public utility, seems principally devoted to the personal indulgence of its possessors in the utmost extravagance of whatever an effeminate and perverted taste can desire,—the influence of such wealth is destructive to the moral character of the state, and the retributive justice of Providence seems always to punish this misapplication of its bounty, by permitting the community to be cursed with a large harvest of iniquity.

Poverty too, especially when it is general, and more when it is placed in contrast with unmeasured affluence, is a mighty generator of crime. So far as it diminishes education, by abridging the means of it; so far as it prevents the ability

of restraining or regulating the natural growth of the passions ; so far as its necessities lead to acts which a deliberate judgment condemns ; so far as it may seek to fly for relief from the painful consciousness of its present ills to the deceitful insensibility of intoxication ; so far it is the parent and nurse of those numerous vices which gather in its path. Even a partial education under these circumstances may be of doubtful utility. What can it do but sharpen the mind to a knowledge of its own degradation, without furnishing the means of escaping from it ? What can it do but make more keenly felt the strong contrasts that exist in the community, without doing any thing to prove the wisdom or justice of that administration, which permits or has favored them ? What can be expected of it but to render more restless and uneasy all those classes, who find no provision made for them at nature's table, and are not instructed in the lesson, so difficult for any body to learn, that men and women and children are to have a being on the earth on terms less favorable than are possessed by the beasts of the forest ?

When hope is extinguished, when not only present comfort is destroyed, but all prospect of the future is blasted, when the long residue of a man's life and the life of his descendants presents no other condition than labor with a pitiful recompense, and perhaps little chance even for that labor which can alone relieve absolute want, it requires more fortitude than most of us possess, to resist the allurements which promise competency at the expense of honesty ; it demands a noble disposition to make a proper choice between the misery of vice and the misery of starvation.

The English government further appears to us to be a cold and heartless abstraction, entirely distinct from any intimate feeling for the happiness of the people. It is neither conducted by them, nor adapted to them. Its great care is for the crown and its prerogatives, the peerage and its privileges, the wealth of the affluent and the appliances by which it may be enjoyed. Privileged classes are the nation. Other inhabitants of that magnificent empire are but contributors to its magnificence, an amount of physical force necessary for its glory and greatness, but having no more interest to be provided for by it, than any other equal quantity of animal life, which is part of the elements of its strength. We might illustrate our position by a reference to the institu-

tions and laws, to the policy of the government, and its operation on the domestic manners of the people; but nothing is more conclusive, in our opinion, than the discussion which the proposed reform in the Commons' House of Parliament has occasioned. This discussion, the details of which it is unnecessary to point out, seems to us to take for granted, that hitherto the privileged classes have not only been masters of the state, but the sole objects for whose benefit government must provide. In addition, however, to what may be gathered from the sentiments of speakers on this subject, delivered in this debate, we take occasion to refer to another circumstance, narrated by Captain Basil Hall in a work of his, praised most extravagantly by the *Quarterly Review*.

"We were rather short-handed in those days, and being in the presence of a blockaded enemy, and liable, at half an hour's warning, to be in action, we could not afford to be very scrupulous as to the ways and means by which our numbers were completed, so that able-bodied men were secured to handle the gun-tackle falls. It chanced one day that we fell in with a ship filled with emigrants, a description of vessel called, in the classical dictionary of the cockpit, an "Irish guineaman." Out of her we pressed twenty Irishmen, besides two strapping fellows from Yorkshire, and one canny Scot.

"Each of this score of Pats was rigged merely in a great-coat, and a pair of something which might be called an apology for inexpressibles; while the rest of their united wardrobe might have been stowed away in the crown of any one of their hats. Their motives for emigrating to a country where mere health and strength of body are sure to gain an independent provision, were obvious enough; and I must say, that to this hour I have not been able to forget the melancholy cry or howl with which the separation of these hardy settlers from their families was effected by the strong arm of power. It was a case of necessity, it is true, but still it was a cruel case, and one, for the exercise of which the officer who put it in force deserves almost as much pity as the poor wretches, whose feelings and interests it became his bounden duty to disregard.

"In most admired contrast to this bewildered drove of half-starved Paddies, stood the two immense, broad-shouldered, high-fed Yorkshiremen, dressed in long-tailed coats, corduroy breeches, and yellow-topped boots, each accompanied by a chest of clothes not much less than a pianoforte, and a huge pile of spades, pick-axes, and other implements of husbandry. They possessed money also, and letters of credit, and described

themselves as being persons of some substance at home. Why they emigrated they would not tell; but such were their prospects, that it was difficult to say whether they or the wild Irishers were the most to be commiserated for so untoward an interruption. Be this as it may, it cost the clerk half an hour to write down a list of their multifarious goods and chattels, while a single scratch of the pen sufficed for that of all the Irishmen.

"At last honest Saunders came under review. He was a tall, raw-boned, grave-looking personage, much pitted with the small-pox, and wearing a good deal of that harassed and melancholy air, which, sooner or later, settles on the brow of an assistant to a village pedagogue. He was startled, but not abashed, when drawn to the middle of the deck, and asked, in the presence of fifty persons, what clothes and other things he possessed? Not choosing at first to betray his poverty, he made no answer, but looked round, as if to discover where his chest had been placed. He then glanced at his thread-bare sleeve and tattered shoon with a slight touch of dry and bitter humor playing about the corners of his mouth, and a faint sparkle lighting up his grey and sunken eye, as he returned the impatient, official stare of the clerk, who stood, pen in hand, ready to note down the items. 'Don't be frightened, man,' said the captain; 'no one is going to hurt you, your things are quite safe. What does your property consist of?' 'A trifle, sir, a trifle,' quoth poor Sawney, — 'fourpence ha'penny, and an auld knife!'" — Vol. ii, pp. 103–106.

The cold barbarity of separating husbands and fathers from their families, the scornful and supercilious despotism of the transaction, the perfect impunity of the petty tyrants who did it, the indifference to the suffering of human beings, supposed to be of an inferior class, as displayed by the narrator, and the record of this outrage, extracted by the Reviewers from a work which they are hardly able to commend enough to satisfy themselves, are ample commentaries on that tendency of the British government, to which we ascribe, as far as to any form of civil government may be properly ascribed, the profusion and magnitude of crime by which the metropolis is overrun. But whether the relative condition of the upper and lower classes be as we have supposed, no doubt can exist that such an opinion prevails among the people of Great Britain, and this belief, so long as it remains, will produce all the consequences we have stated.

In another of Mr. Wakefield's works we accordingly find

the following remarks ; and it is almost needless to say, that whatever he writes on this matter is extensively circulated and generally read.

“ Speaking generally, since all rules have exceptions, the privileged classes of our rural districts take infinite pains to be abhorred by their poorest neighbours. They inclose commons. They stop foot-paths. They wall in their parks. They set spring-guns and man-traps. They spend on the keep of high-bred dogs what would support half as many children, and yet persecute a laboring man for owning one friend in his cur. They make rates of wages, elaborately calculating the minimum of food that will keep together the soul and body of a clod-hopper. They breed game in profusion for their own amusement ; and having thus tempted the poor man to knock down a hare for his pot, they send him to the tread-mill, or antipodes, for that inextinguishable offence. They build gaols, and fill them. They make new crimes and new punishments for the poor. They interfere with the marriages of the poor, compelling some, and forbidding others, to come together. They shut up paupers in work-houses, separating husband and wife, in pounds by day, and wards by night. They harness poor men to carts. They superintend ale-houses, decry skittles, deprecate beer-shops, meddle with fairs, and otherwise curtail the already narrow amusements of the poor. Even in church, where some of them solemnly preach that all are equal, they sit on cushions, in pews, boarded, matted, and sheltered with curtains from the wind and the vulgar gaze, whilst the lower orders must put up with a bare bench on a stone floor, which is good enough for them. Every where they are ostentatious in the display of wealth and enjoyment ; whilst in their intercourse with the poor they are suspicious, quick at taking offence, vindictive when displeased, haughty, overbearing, tyrannical and wolfish ; as it seems in the nature of man to be towards such of his fellows as, like sheep, are without the power to resist.”

We should be sorry to believe that all this was strictly true. Possibly, like the stories printed in England by some of the modern travellers in the United States, it is exaggerated beyond just resemblance. But the ground-work has some existence. It shows, at any rate, the opinion entertained of the upper classes by those below them, and cannot fail to provoke a dangerous resistance. Unfortunately that resistance has no legitimate course. It cannot expend its energy at a ballot-box. It dares not exert itself in open defiance of

power. It dreads the hazards of insurrection or treason. It arrays itself therefore in a kind of servile war, and attempts to punish one set of crimes by the perpetration of others. It beats down the moral force of society.

A good deal of the misery which has been described, appears to us to result from that artificial refinement, of which great boast is made, and for which superiority is especially claimed by writers, who affect to ridicule and despise the ruder habits of Americans. We do not propose to remark on that dissoluteness and depravity, which, if not the very refinement that is spoken of, inseparably attends it; or of the inefficient protection to the community in a substitution of manners for morals, or the danger of allowing fashion to take the authority of virtue. Undoubtedly the classes most distinguished for refinement have their besetting sins, that may sometimes be found a dear penalty for the advantages of that course of conduct, which is regulated less by nature than by art; and we should be glad to know what part of the extensive corruption that exists, arises from the artificial forms which society has assumed. How many of those great numbers, who infect the moral atmosphere, are cast off from the higher circles, or in vain have aspired to reach them? How many, emulous of the advantages which they have had opportunity to admire without ability to possess, abandon all forms of honest industry, and live by pillage and plunder and knavery and fraud? This attempted refinement has led to forms and modes of education subversive of the proper object of all good education, namely, to act well one's part on the theatre of life.

It seems not to be understood, that education may be abused, and, like other blessings of life, be converted by human folly or human passion into a serious evil. To be well and thoroughly educated for one's employment or profession is, undoubtedly, the perfection of the process, and to be educated for a higher vocation, when the education that gives the means of discharging its duties may also afford an opportunity of reaching it, cannot be too highly appreciated; but to acquire, through the means of extraordinary culture, wants, tastes, feelings, which can never be gratified, capacities which must ever be unoccupied, large desires that no power can supply, and to be filled, by an artificial sensibility, with aversion and disgust at the necessary details of an un-

changeable employment, is to generate individual unhappiness, and by consequence universal disquietude. Whatever may be the case where employment is open to every body, and genius with industry feels sure of distinction, in England, where the path for life is marked out at the beginning of it, and seems, with a few splendid exceptions, which only serve to dazzle and confuse, to be as immutable as an Indian caste, the acquired sensibility, that renders its duties distasteful, is no very desirable acquisition.

There is another process of education of mischievous character. Its tendency is to produce a desire for intellectual distinction, without conferring the means of attaining it, and to deceive the pupil into a belief, that his inclination is equivalent to the power which cultivation should bestow. Noisy club-orators, with more garrulity than sense, are the product of this school. So too are the sciolists, who controvert, without being able to fathom, long established and admitted truth, and who delight in the influence which their volubility enables them to exert over silly women and ignorant men. Such are the declaimers of the doctrine of Fanny Wright, and the deluded retailers of Owen's ridiculous sophistry, who, mistaking words for ideas, and relying on the extravagance and novelty of a paradox for effect, mislead others as infatuated as themselves. We are not without our suspicion, that a great proportion of the misguided women, who are represented by our author to be ready to join in any scheme of destruction and anarchy, owe their ruin to a process of supposed education, not calculated for any condition which they could possibly attain. To avoid a life of labor, they are fitted for one of indulgence and luxury; but the preparation for it and the desire for it do not procure the means of securing it, and they sink from the respectability which honest industry may confer on comparative poverty, into the degradation that is inseparable from voluntary vice. Experience does not, in this respect, always give wisdom. Each, if he sees the wreck of his neighbour's bark, hopes to escape a similar calamity, though he may pursue the same course; and to this infatuation may be ascribed more of the misfortunes of female life, than are obvious to a casual spectator.

If then so much be attributable to the course of that system, which is adopted for the education of the young, and es-

pecially of the female part of the community, it may be well for us to look at home, not so much for complaint as for improvement. It may be useful to inquire, whether, in our proneness to copy English manners and English tastes, we may not have adopted, with a vast deal that is noble and imposing and excellent, some habits and some opinions that are of more doubtful utility. And on this subject of education we think we have yet something to learn, in its application to our peculiar institutions and state of society.

It has been said, that our country does not especially need the services of very many very learned men, and that she has little occasion for their abstruse and recondite learning. But is the force of eminently powerful minds, in the production of similar energy, duly considered? Wherever they appear, they raise the intellectual character of their country, and often of their age. What effect had the genius of Napoleon on the martial character of the world! What has Johnson done for literature, or West for painting, or Canova for sculpture, independently of their personal and immediate efforts! What have these great men, and others of our own country, accomplished silently and without any special observance! Besides, an ambitious pretension and strained effort for display are consequences of the want of a fixed and high standard of intellectual character. Acquisitions will be more showy than substantial, not because there are not men able to teach higher and better things, but because the learners or the learners' friends are easily satisfied with inferior attainments. That such is, in some degree, the present state of things here, is evident, we think, from the general course and objects of the education of our young people, and particularly of females. We dislike to hear it. We resent the imputation when it is made in the unfriendly spirit of some captious review, or the coarse narrative of a sneering traveller, not better educated than those that are the objects of his sneer. But examination may show us, that more is attempted in the usual course of a polite education, to which indeed all classes aspire, than the time and means can compass, and that the consequence is, that little or nothing is done well. There is reason to fear, from the very program of the studies, that in our highest female schools much time is spent to very little advantage, and in those of a second and third rate more is absolutely

wasted, while the pupils and their parents labor under a deception alike injurious to themselves and the country.

Every where exercises in the languages, ancient and modern, in music and painting, in poetry and prose for composition, as well as in the higher branches of the exact sciences, are to some extent proposed, while, from the multiplicity of the objects, and the curtailment of time, and the universal spirit for dress and amusement, which is perfectly incompatible with assiduous and severe labor, every thing is superficially taught, and nothing is learned well. The expenses of education are too high. Books are too numerous and too costly, and the course of instruction too much broken by the common avocations of society.

The extent and force of female influence, which our habits allow and indeed encourage, make the character of the female mind a subject of deep interest to the community; while that morbid sensibility that shrinks from all suspicion of deficiency, makes the chance for improvement the more perilous. Whether a more intellectual character of a practical and useful kind may not be given by a different course; whether a higher literary taste may not be excited without infringing on the necessary duties of the sex; whether a more rational and less expensive mode of social intercourse may not be made more popular and quite as satisfactory; whether the frivolous conversation and the substantial fare of our splendid saloons may not be exchanged for lighter refection and higher intelligence, are questions which deserve the serious consideration of education societies, as well as the *arbitri elegantiarum*, by whom the manners of the community are constantly regulated.

Between manners and morals there is an inseparable connexion. Between the cultivation of the female mind and the good order, the peace, the tranquillity of our civil communities, there is a most intimate relationship; and, with all our independence and political equality, there is yet a power in the affluent and distinguished, which, although not expressly admitted, and sometimes pertinaciously denied, maintains an influence quite as potent, for good or for harm, as where the individuals are placed in different classes by the permanent and uncontroverted laws of the realm.

If in the higher and costlier schools, where the course of education is regulated by the inclination of those who sup-

port them, more attention was paid to endowments of mind that are calculated to last for life, even at the risk of losing the showy and sickly exotics that can hardly give a momentary decoration to the morning of youth, a great advance would be made in the general state of society.

Although the character of the sex, taken on the whole, is unexampled for its intelligence and purity, and the freedom which is accorded to it serves to elevate the moral dignity of the greater part, yet, in the cities of the United States, numbers are unhappily congregated, who may be classed with the miserable objects described by our author, in terms that imply the lowest state of degradation and depravity. This pitiable portion is made up, not only of some of the originally poor and abject, but of others who could not make good the expectation and promises of life. An over-education had given hopes that are ruined. Tastes and habits are formed, which honest means are wanting to gratify. The moral and religious feelings have been neglected in that false and delusive course, which left them altogether or in a great degree out of the process of cultivation; and thus the aliment, on which the mind should have strengthened and become invigorated, has become a poison fatal in its operation, and contagious in its character.

We are not to be misunderstood as uttering any sentiment adverse to universal and efficient education. On the contrary we maintain and insist, that the great object of human existence, the moral improvement of each individual, and the consequent advancement of the race, is, so far as human means can accomplish it, entirely dependent on its vigorous and constant prosecution. But we do mean to say, that the common course of schooling and reading and forms of supposed instruction, called education, are often no education at all; we do mean to say, that it is possible to learn much and know much, and to be very fashionably and expensively educated in all the customary branches of a modern school, and to be rendered thereby more useless, more helpless, and more dangerous to one's self and the community.

If it be by any one maintained, that any and all kinds of education do some good, it must be conceded, we think, that the most good is accomplished by that which is most appropriate to the real business and situation of the individual who receives it. To be of any value it must be ap-

propriate. Life is not long enough to learn every thing ; and that portion of it which is devoted to the acquisition of knowledge is very injudiciously wasted, if it is devoted to the gathering of materials which are no way serviceable in after years, and especially if they unnerve and disqualify the mind for the actual condition in which it may happen to be placed. It may be added, too, that education cannot, by any contrivance yet known, be made as common as the air, of which each individual may take what his convenience requires. It is to be provided ; and, though it can never be had without money, yet with money it cannot always be purchased. It is not a marketable commodity, that may be put down on the price-current of articles for sale. It must be directed by high intelligence, arranged with foresight and talent, and planned out, like a rail-road, in which the science of the engineer and the mechanical force of the laborer and the miscellaneous services of sundry intermediate agents are alike indispensable, however various in value.

Another cause for much of that moral evil, which is described to exist in the metropolis of England, may be found in the condition of the criminal law. Its cruel severity and its unsteady and irregular action deprive society of the advantages to be derived from an intelligent, humane, yet strict administration of public justice.

Popular opinion does not sanction the infliction of punishment which the laws enjoin, and, being in some degree consulted through the forms of a jury trial, evades or defies their provisions. The law then fails to carry its intentions into effect. Cavils, conceits, quibbles of the most frivolous kind are allowed to interpose, for the purpose of defeating its operation ; and hence its administration is abhorred for its cruelty, at the very time that it is despised for its weakness. The law itself is thereby brought into disgrace. It ceases to inspire respect. Its commands, more powerful under a wise administration in preventing crime than in punishing it, are disregarded ; and a power, which, when all others fail, ought to be sufficient, if not to promote virtue, at least to restrain vice, is in a great degree annihilated.

Much has recently been done to restore the pristine vigor of the law, by making it more congenial to the improved sentiments of the age, by making it plainer, milder, and more humane, and thus commending it to the good sense of

its subjects ; but the effects of this improvement are not, and cannot be, immediate. Their progress is of necessity slow, for much time must be required to do away the effect of ages of cruelty and barbarism. But it is only by maintaining the authority of law, by conforming its provisions to sound reason and an intelligent humanity, and then by vigorously enforcing its commands, that the peace of society can be preserved. They who act from high principle never come within the practical operation of the laws. Of well-meaning and well-behaving citizens the civil power takes no especial cognizance. But when that restraint, which morality should maintain over passion, is broken down, what power but the law can shut out the torrent of iniquity that pours on society ?

The question, then, to be discussed is not on the merits of the principle, which enforces obedience and preserves the public peace, but on the fact, whether by any power this peace is preserved and this obedience enforced. A loftier sentiment acts upon those, who conform to the interests of society, not through any legal restraint, but by the strength of moral obligation, — not from fear of man, but love of God. But when this latter motive is ineffectual, as too often it is found to be, society is in a most deplorable condition if it has not a force within itself sufficient for its protection. This force, the only one it can exercise without despotism, is the force of law. The moral power and the legal are in operation, each actively and vigorously in its own appropriate sphere, and there is a reciprocal and most useful agency exerted by each on the other. An intelligent moral power will regulate to a great extent the code of criminal law, and this code will wonderfully influence the moral sentiment of the people. The statesman, therefore, who is to provide for the public security, and the moralist, who professes to teach men the proper motives of action, have a joint duty to perform, in which the assistance of both is necessary for the success of either. The union of effort, which is required for the common good, may not be neglected without danger of convulsion and insurrection. The power of society, as expressed and enforced by its judicial tribunals over acts which the wisdom of its legislature has pronounced to be criminal, is not only one of the most salutary of its powers, but that one, without which all its other agencies and re-

sources in the more alluring habiliments of charity and benevolence, would be utterly ineffectual. Fear of punishment, in some form or other, is an indispensable element in the regulation of society. Men may be in some degree allured by favors, by rewards, by kind feelings, and the applause of their fellow citizens. At all events, however, they must do or forbear to do what society demands; and when these motives of allurements are ineffectual, more compulsory means must be contrived, or the machinery of society would be brought to a stand. All this is obvious enough. Nobody that we ever heard of has denied the reasonableness or the utility of the coercive or corrective power of the public, whenever it was to be maintained as an abstract proposition; yet never, or very rarely indeed, is it brought to bear on an individual case, without being the subject of doubt and dispute and contradiction, often to a degree that threatens to render it abortive. In England it has been repeatedly affirmed, that while the law subjected a person guilty of the crime of forging bank notes to capital punishment, so many of those, who could inform, would decline to give testimony, and so many jurors, in case of prosecution, would refuse to convict, that the crime itself was nearly unpunishable. Other offences were pardoned by a kind of public sympathy; and thus the law, which was intended to be a terror to evil-doers, became a mere effigy without animation. To the extent to which impunity has been enjoyed, by those who in England are justly exposed to the animadversion of the laws, nothing of the like kind can be said to have occurred in the United States. Neither in numbers, nor by confederacy, nor as a known class, have the workers of iniquity collected together in any part of this country, as our author describes them to have done in London. Yet, as a relaxation of the efficient power of the public is capable of producing so much evil, it is wise to keep a constant supervision over it, and to ascertain from time to time how well the common defences have been maintained, and how often, and to what extent, an encroachment on the public domain has been attempted.

The value of the law, as a protection to the community, depends on the correctness of its enactments, and the manner in which they are executed. Leaving the former branch, as one too extensive for the close of an article al-

ready sufficiently protracted, we shall confine our attention to the manner in which these laws are put in operation.

That is the most healthy state of society, which enables its magistracy, which with us is only another term for the collective body of the people, to enforce the execution of those decrees, that its wisdom has deliberately adopted.

The most liberal democracy cannot, we suppose, deny to society the power of self-preservation, not merely from utter annihilation, but from the loss of any of those privileges, conveniences, and securities, without which its existence would be any thing but a blessing. Now this preservation consists in the performance, by every citizen, of his appropriate duty. Whenever this duty is violated, the good order of the community is deranged; and to prevent the future recurrence of the evil, it has been deemed wise, and indeed necessary, to punish its past commission. It is the appropriate duty of the law then, by its proper officers, to ascertain that an act contrary to its commands has been perpetrated, to find out the offender, and to inflict the prescribed punishment for the crime. It is obvious, that if this could be perfectly accomplished, the peace of society would never be disturbed, and the law itself, like a castle that kept off its enemies by the array of its resistless force, would maintain its power by a show of strength, without the exertion of it. If the fruits of crime could always be taken away, and an added measure of suffering be the consequence of attempting it, the attempt would be madness, and therefore be made only by the insane. If a thief, for instance, were sure, that the proceeds of his felony, as surely as they came into his hands, would instantly be taken away, and punishment of some kind be inflicted, it would be utterly incredible, that an attempt to commit larceny could ever be made. While a moral and religious sentiment preserved a certain part of the community from error, they, over whom high and honest motives failed to operate, would be prevented, by the force of legal restraint, from the indulgence of bad passions, which would be kept under control, not indeed by the virtue of the individual, but, quite as efficiently for the common good, by the public force. But this theoretic perfection is unattainable, and that which might be supposed possible is yet unaccom-

plished. What are the causes of this inefficiency of the public power?

The vigor of public justice is impaired by the difficulty of discovering the proper person to be charged as the perpetrator of a crime. We know, every day, that offences of more or less enormity have been committed. Our suffering fellow citizens complain of a depredation on their persons or property, sometimes to a great extent, and often in a small degree, without the possibility of being able even to guess by whom the wrong was done. The offender not only goes with impunity, but is emboldened by his escape to repeat his transgression; and others, like him, are encouraged by a hope of the same security. It would hardly be possible to provide guards enough to discover at the moment all the violators of law. But unquestionably many might be discovered by proper care, who are now undisturbed. The corps of watchmen and constables, and other officers of police, are intended to bring offenders to light; but their assiduity often needs to be stimulated by some inducement beyond the mere emoluments of official duty. As these men live by their labor in these departments, the question of compensation is a serious one to them, and a problem which the public have never satisfactorily solved. Shall they be paid by the day or by the job? Shall they be paid for their required time, at a fixed price, whether they do much or little? or for each specific act, whether many or few? Each mode has its advantages and its evils. That which is in this Commonwealth generally adopted, partakes of both systems, and unites the good and the bad parts of each of them.

The movements of this class of public servants are watched with great jealousy, and with a constantly fluctuating policy, on the part of the public. Sometimes rewards are held out for their diligence; and when, in consequence of these rewards, the duty is freely and largely done, and the officer is profiting by the bounty, his good fortune excites jealousy, he is said to be overpaid, and the encouragement is discontinued, even at the hazard of giving impunity to crime.

As the whole process of justice is set in motion by the act of discovering a suspected offender, this humble and lowest department is obviously not the least considerable; and as the mind of the public stands affected towards this class of its

agents, as they are few or numerous, vigilant or careless, honest or unfaithful, so, it is obvious, will be the security of the public, in regard to all that great body of offenders, who prowl in the secrecy of midnight darkness.

But the law intrusts itself to the protection of each of the good citizens of the State. Its sword is put into the hands of every honest man, to be wielded as justice may require. Not merely are the paid guardians of the public peace to make complaint, by means of which offenders may be stayed, but every man, knowing of the commission of a crime by another, is bound to communicate what he knows to some neighbouring magistrate, to the end that offenders may be arrested and punished.

If this duty be neglected, there is a defect of justice ; and that it is often neglected, most of our readers have probably some good reason to believe. The trouble, the loss of time, the perplexity, and, not uncommonly, the unjust aspersions which are thrown out on an informer, especially if he is not personally injured by the offence, prevent the prosecution of very many offenders. On great occasions, as where a murder or a robbery is committed, these considerations are lost in the absorbing sense of public interest ; but on inferior subjects they have a great and a growing influence. Where, as in the city of Boston, there is but a single place, in which the initiatory process of complaint can usually be made ; where this is distant, inconvenient, and crowded ; where others, who came first, must be first heard, and great delay, or repeated application, must thereby be the consequence ; and where the right of cross-examination, by a prisoner's counsel, may be abused systematically, for the purpose of rendering the citizen's duty painful and odious, the judicial power is curtailed of its fair proportion, and a dangerous and disgraceful impunity is in fact promulgated for low criminals and their accessories after the fact. These evils grow by neglect. They continue to swell until their size and corruption attract notice, and then the good sense of the community applies its remedy, which establishes a better state of things and preserves the body politic, until in its turn it becomes ineffectual, and may require support or revision.

Other difficulties, of a more permanent character, interfere with that theoretic perfection, which is more to be de-

sired than expected. Some of these arise out of provisions wisely made for the protection of innocence, and intended to establish and elucidate truth. Hence the procrastination, delay, and expense of judicial trials. Hence the impatience of the public mind, which always outruns the march of justice, and decides with the promptness of a tyrant, what the law is able to ascertain only in the tardiness of its republican movement. Justice weighs out each grain and scruple of evidence or argument, with the slowness and precision of an apothecary ; while the impatient community seizes on the whole at a grasp, and treats it as an article of commerce, to be measured by the cargo. The caution, the delay, the exactness of a judicial tribunal weary people, who wonder that the law does not decide as rapidly and as peremptorily as themselves.

The length of our public trials is chiefly owing to the defence. The part of the prosecution is soon over. Minute examination of evidence and long discussions of the law and the fact are rights secured to the party accused, which, if he has ability to purchase, he is sure to command. That the privilege cannot be diminished is certain ; that it may be abused is no argument for abolishing it. That it often is carried to a length which appears to the auditors and the public exceedingly unreasonable, is manifest. The simplest inquiries become thereby tedious to all the parties concerned, and they render the administration of the law unpopular, inasmuch as they make apparently a great waste of time and money. Whether an assault was made on a member of Congress for words spoken in debate, a question upon which the public mind settles an opinion in a day, may occupy two hundred members of Congress for a month. Whether a militia officer discharged the escort-duties of a parade, which, being an open exhibition, is determined by the spectators on the spot, may take a court-martial weeks to determine. If indeed the tribunal, at which the party is arraigned, were the only one he had to address, there would be a limit, within ordinary bounds, to the exertion and the arguments of counsel. But every thing with us is addressed to the people. They have an appellate power over every established tribunal known to the laws, and to this, though nominally to the court, are addressed the arguments and eloquence of the party on trial. What is the consequence ?

Small offenders are often not put on trial, because the expense of the process would bear an undue proportion to the offence. Great offenders escape, because the costs and the time cannot be commanded.

In some respects our system may be considered impracticable. Thus it can hardly be conceived, that the power of impeachment, vested by the constitution in the Congress of the United States, could be conducted under any circumstances to a conclusion within the period of the appointment of a President, if he should be the party to be tried; and that provision for the security of the public must be deemed impracticable and useless. What could be done with any extensive conspiracy or treason against the United States? The trial of Fries lasted fifteen days. The trial of Aaron Burr in Richmond continued from the twenty-second of May to the second of September. In England, the trials of Thistlewood and all the other Cato-street conspirators were finished in a week.

If we are asked for a remedy, we can suggest no other than a corrected state of public opinion. These long trials, long arguments, incessant motions, and protracted details of evidence are designed for public effect. They are encouraged by that condition of the public mind which receives them with favor, and they will be compressed into the reasonable and limited form that would better answer the proper objects of a judicial examination, when unnecessary and wasteful expense of time, and declamatory appeals to the public, under the guise of an argument to the court, are met with the stern reprobation their extravagance deserves and requires. The fault is laid upon lawyers, but belongs to the people. It would never be practised, if it were not received with favor. Through all the clouds of censure with which it is surrounded, there still gleams a light of approbation and applause, which encourages the repetition whenever an opportunity offers.

The vigor of public justice is impaired by the state of public feeling in regard to individual cases of crime. While every body admits that crime must be restrained by the punishment of the criminal, it is always a matter of doubt, whether, in any given case, the actual infliction of punishment would do much to secure this great object of society. Crime, wherever it occurs, is an evil, and so is punish-

ment. Now to add the evil of punishment to the evil of crime is doubling the causes of complaint. This new evil is not a substitute for the other, but an addition to it. Punishment cannot eradicate what has been done. The sufferings of the criminal cannot restore the life he has terminated, or the reputation he has assailed, or the property he has feloniously appropriated. Punishment comes in the form of vengeance. It partakes, at least in appearance, of the quality of revenge. The culprit has inflicted an injury on society, and now society has him in its power, and is about to inflict an injury on him. But in most cases it cannot confine the injury, which its power denounces, to the criminal himself. In almost every instance the innocent are involved with the guilty. If you impose a pecuniary penalty, helpless children lose their necessary food. Do you confine the party in prison? Their wants are to be supplied by his labor; and while the public feed him and clothe him in comfortable quarters, they are houseless and hungry and naked, and exposed to all the temptations of penury. In all cases, such is the intimate connexion between individuals in the relations of life, that disgrace, the severest part of public punishment, falls heaviest on the innocent connexions of the party who is guilty.

Now it is often in vain to point out the true theory of penal law, to discourse on the security it is intended to give to quiet and peaceful citizens, and the danger they would be exposed to by the impunity of the guilty. The question of utility is asked in each particular case, and a feeling of compassion, a sentiment of humanity, and not seldom a conviction that there is in each special instance no absolute hazard to the community, favor, in a thousand ways, the escape of the criminal.

These chances are duly considered by the depredators of society. They calculate the risks of detection and the hazards of a trial and the probability of escape, with as much precision as the accustomed incidents of honest pursuits.

One other cause, and it is the last we shall mention, is the misplaced benevolence of pious, charitable, and kind-hearted citizens. Whenever, by their aid, that, which the law intends as a punishment, is made less severe or inconvenient than the former condition of the culprit; whenever

more solicitude is expressed for the comfort and the condition of the criminal than the guiltless ; whenever the abode of the offenders, whom society denounces for their crimes, is made more cheering and grateful, more pleasant and peaceful, than the residence of honest, faithful, and laboring industry, a premium is held out for the commission of crime, and all the objects of the penal law are absolutely frustrated. The kindness thus shown to the guilty, is cruelty and mockery and insult to the humble and virtuous.

If society means, by its administration of criminal law, to enforce the great principle, that sin shall beget suffering, with a view of deterring men from the perpetration of iniquity, its design is defeated by any who convert this suffering into a relaxation, an amusement, a pastime ; and it is enfeebled by every attempt toward such an end, in just that degree in which the attempt is successful. Punishment must be suffering, or there is a confusion in words, and we speak without meaning. It need not be, and it ought not to be, cruelty. There is a limit, marked by humanity and by a Christian temper, to its extent ; but if any thing is intended by it, it must be, that the condition of the convicted culprit is to be made worse by the consequences of his crime, that he is to feel this degradation, that others are to see and feel it, and take warning by his unfortunate example. A deliberate scheme to change this course of things deserves not so much the name of humanity as fanaticism. The just severity of the law is quite as necessary as any of its rewards, as the means by which it gives education and cultivates the moral powers, or bestows its honors on the worthy.

It is no paradox to maintain, that the proper energy and rigor of the criminal law prevents the necessity of its frequent and disagreeable exercise. It has long been a maxim, that punishments will be rare in proportion as they are certain ; and the surest way to prevent their recurrence is, not to arrest the arm of the law when occasion calls for its exertion.

The time may come, when a universal understanding of the true theory of happiness shall make every man just, honest, and honorable ; when the force of moral principle shall control the solicitation of the passions and the misdirected calculations of interest ; when it shall be considered, not as an abstract proposition of recondite philosophy, but a

truth clear, plain, and demonstrated to the commonest capacity, that happiness is inseparable from virtue ; when that purity of heart, which it is the distinguishing character of Christianity to cultivate and produce, shall have eradicated all temptation to sin and all necessity for punishment. Such as have advanced thus far in the science of moral improvement, have passed beyond the jurisdiction of mere human laws ; they are directed by higher motives than the fear of their censure or the hope of their rewards. But, till the full light of that day beams upon us, the salutary influence of the laws, the force they can exercise, the power they can exert, is a necessary part of the constitution of all civil society.

ART. II. — *A Discourse, delivered before the Boston Mercantile Association, and Others, assembled on their Invitation, on Tuesday Evening, February 7, 1832. By WILLIAM SULLIVAN. Boston. Carter & Hendee. 1832. 8vo. pp. 36.*

THE Association, before which this Discourse was delivered, have it in their power, if they are faithful to their objects, to do as much good as perhaps any society in this society-forming age. Their objects, as we gather them from the Discourse, appear to be, first, to institute lectures for the purpose of instructing young men, and inciting them to instruct themselves yet more completely, in those branches of knowledge which are calculated to make them accomplished merchants ; secondly, to assist and sustain those of their number, who, with a perfectly fair character, may become involved in their circumstances and be bereft of their property ; and, thirdly, to adopt means for the moral and religious improvement of the youth who are within the sphere of their immediate influence, and induce them to feel the value and the blessing of a good reputation. These objects are stated and enforced by Mr. Sullivan in a clear and practical manner, with much variety of knowledge, sound reasoning, and, above all, an evident and earnest desire to be useful and to do good.

In treating of the second stated object of the society, the speaker introduces the following remarks, which, together with what has been said and written to the same purpose in other places and at other times, will at last, we hope, bring on that change in the laws of our state, which seems to be so desirable.

"It is in reference to the hazards necessarily involved in commercial life, that an association among yourselves may be usefully established. You profess to guard against the evils of ignorant, negligent, and intentional wrongs, by preventing them. You mean to relieve innocent misfortune, by providing the means of showing that it was such. You intend that your associates shall not sink, and be lost to themselves, to their families, and to society, when poverty comes, *without fault*. This is, undoubtedly, one of the most estimable motives which have led to your union. It is peculiarly necessary in this community, because the innocent and unfortunate merchant and trader have no protection from legislative power, which resides in Congress; and which power that assembly refuses to exercise. They can have no adequate protection from state legislatures, in which the necessary power does not reside, if the will to exercise what remains to them existed, which it does not. The present state of the law, as to debtor and creditor, in Massachusetts, is as exceptionable as any that ever was known in an intelligent society. So much so, that debtors are, in some measure, compelled to make the law for themselves. It will be in your power, gentlemen, with the good sense and honorable intentions by which you are governed, to remedy many evils, which should be, but are not, remedied by legislative measures. You can do what no legislature can do. You can declare to the world, that an unfortunate man has not forfeited his rank, as a member of society. You can uphold and sustain him, when the world would desert him. You can pour a precious balm on his wounded spirit, and carry sympathy and consolation to the innocent hearts of the wife and of the children, who must be partners in his sorrows. You can lay for him a new foundation for his fortunes, and enable him, without even any cost to yourselves, to minister the like consolation, and the like support, to other deserving men, who are overtaken by like misfortunes." — pp. 21, 22.

Under the third topic, the moral improvement of the young, there is an illustration which struck us very agreeably, and the force of which must have been felt by every young man who had the privilege of hearing the Discourse.

"If one would be pleased and happy throughout this life, he must respect and render due honor to the wonderful composition of his Creator, which constitutes his individual being. He must so conduct himself, that when memory reminds him of the past, it will furnish him with no causes to reproach himself. That the rational pleasures of life are dependent on the healthy state of the body, and on a clear and peaceable mind, may be illustrated, more plainly, by presenting to your notice two different objects. Let us suppose, that, in a fair morning of summer, a young man of twenty is called from his bed to go to his place of business before sun-rise, and that his way lies across Boston Common; that he passed the preceding evening in the full enjoyment of pleasure; that is, he ate, drank, smoked, sung, and laughed (*if he did nothing worse*), and went to bed after midnight, with a feverish fullness, and with every one of his digestive powers called into intense action. It would necessarily follow, that his sleep was unquiet; that he rose from it with a confused, an aching head; that he came into the fresh air of the morning without any sensibility to its freshness; and that he pursues his way to his place of business with a feeble step, unconscious whether the sun is commencing to shed its beams over the earth, and careless of every thing but the unwelcome return of labor, and of the confused recollection of *last night's pleasures*.

"Let us look at another, who had passed the preceding evening in improving study, or in rational conversation or amusement (I include *amusement*, of which there are many kinds, and tending to innocent pleasure), and had retired to sleep without having called on his bodily powers to perform any labor but that of healthy duty, according to the law of their nature. He, too, awakes at early morning, and passes over the same ground to his accustomed duties. His bodily frame is at ease and gratified with its own sense of motion. His head is clear; and his heart and mind alive to the beauties of the created world. He feels, and is thankful that he does feel, the freshness of the morning. The sun rises before him, and pours its splendid light over the beautiful scene around, glittering on the dews, and casting the long shadows to the west. The sentiment steals over his mind that he does exist, and that he exists to behold the beaming of early day upon the rejoicing earth. His mind involuntarily ascends to the Author of creation. He moves on to his employments with a grateful sense that he is permitted to be capable of comprehending his own relation to the laws of nature, and his reverential duty to Him from whom they came.

"Which of these two young men will go through his day's work with most satisfaction to himself? Where will they respectively be, at twenty-one, at thirty, and at fifty? and in what light will they be respectively considered, by those who know them, if both should live to be old?" — pp. 27 – 29.

We know not what measures have been taken to give circulation to this pamphlet, but in our opinion it should be in the hands of every merchant and trader in the city, and of every young man who is in training for a mercantile life. If copies of it were sent to our other cities, they might prepare the way for the formation of other Mercantile Associations, and thus be among the means of raising still higher the already high character of the mercantile community.

ART. III. — *Five Years of Youth ; or Sense and Sentiment*.

By HARRIET MARTINEAU, Author of "Times of the Saviour." First American Edition. Boston. Leonard C. Bowles. 1832. 18mo. pp. 258.

MISS MARTINEAU'S pen cannot long remain idle, nor are we desirous that it should, while it continues to be employed, as heretofore, in contributing to the moral instruction and healthy entertainment of young and old. The work before us is intended for the young, by whom it may be read with profit, and cannot fail to be read with pleasure. We cannot, with a safe conscience, say, that we have been as much pleased with it ourselves, as we were with the "Traditions of Palestine," — for by that name we shall feel obliged to call that book, as long as the author sees fit to call it so, — though we are willing to allow, that the superiority of the latter consists, in a great degree, in the originality of its conception, and the peculiarly sacred beauties of its character. And we cannot now help expressing the wish, that Miss Martineau would again turn her attention to the characters of Scripture history and the scenery of the Holy Land.

The "Five Years of Youth" is designed to set forth the many advantages of cultivating good, practical, common sense, and the many evils of indulging sickly and nervous

sentiment, as both are exemplified in the history of two sisters, who had the unhappiness of losing their mother when they were very young. The name of the young lady of sense is Mary, and Anna is the young lady of sentiment. Mary proves the friend and comforter of her father, and Anna his constant torment; though her weakness is represented in such a manner that we cannot avoid heartily pitying her. The following description of Mary's singing is a lively and pleasant picture.

"He was delighted with Mary's singing, which was very unlike what he had heard from any other young lady since he had been in England. She had been well taught; but she had that natural taste for music,—the ear and the soul for it,—without which no teaching is of any avail. She sang much and often, not because she had any particular aim at being very accomplished, but because she loved it; or, as she said, because she could not help it. She sang to Nurse Rickham's children; she sang as she went up and down stairs; she sang when she was glad and when she was sorry; when her papa was at home, because he liked it; when he was out, because he could not be disturbed by it. In the woods, at noon-day, she sang like a bird, that a bird might answer her; and if she woke in the dark night, the feeling of solemn music came over her, with which she dared not break the silence. Every thing suggested music to her. Every piece of poetry, which she understood and liked, formed itself into melody in her mind, without an effort. When a gleam of sunshine burst out, she gave voice to it; and long before she had heard any cathedral service, the chanting of the Psalms was familiar to her by anticipation."

Poor Anna, who falls every day more and more under the dominion of her morbid sensitiveness, which degenerates into idle selfishness, is left by her father and sister with a friend in France, who, by the influence she has acquired over her, may possibly bring her out of her sad, nervous, helpless condition. We truly hope that she will; and as Anna has some fine qualities and abilities, we think Miss Martineau is bound to let us know, in proper time, of her recovery and reformation; and we will communicate the tidings with great pleasure.

ART. IV. — *Lectures on Revivals of Religion.* By WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D. D. Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Albany. *With an Introductory Essay,* by LEONARD WOODS, D. D. *Also, an Appendix, consisting of Letters* from the Rev. Doctors ALEXANDER, WAYLAND, DANA, MILLER, HYDE, HAWES, M'DOWELL, PORTER, PAYSON, PROUDFIT, NEILL, MILLEDOLER, DAVIS, LORD, HUMPHREY, DAY, GREEN, WADDELL, GRIFFIN, and Rev. C. P. McILVAINE. Albany. 1832. 8vo. pp. 484.

THIS book should be known and read for several reasons. It is the largest and most solid book that has ever been published, to our knowledge, exclusively on the subject of Revivals. It contains the views of more than twenty prominent clergymen in different parts of the country, and from six different religious denominations, all writing freely, and confining their remarks to this one subject. The subject itself, though trite, is of importance, whether we believe, with many, that these great religious movements are gaining upon the confidence of the community generally, as well as rapidly multiplying, or whether we suppose them, as do others, to be losing their hold on the respect of the sober-minded and rational of all parties. So long as revivals are traced to a peculiar and direct impulse from above, and exert the influence which they now do on the social and moral condition of society, they demand our candid and serious observation. And there is one distinct consideration, which seems to entitle this book to particular notice. It is the most sensible, discriminating, impartial, and therefore important treatise, or rather collection of treatises, that we have ever seen on this subject. There are candid concessions in it, for which the authors deserve all credit; while, at the same time, these concessions and the whole character of the book indicate, that it was written, not so much for the general purpose of recommending or explaining revivals, as, by admitting what cannot longer be denied, to save them from the abuse and disgrace to which they were fast coming.

Let us not be unjust. Let us not be mistaken. We never felt less disposed to quarrel with the advocates of revivals than at this moment. The perusal of this volume has

given us a stronger conviction than ever of the sincerity of their belief in the spiritual character of these excitements. No one can doubt, after reading the deliberate opinions of such men as have here written, that they, and most of the people on whom they act, have a strong, unwavering faith in the supernatural influences imparted at such times, and of course in the extensive good that always is or always may be obtained through them. This faith is very strongly expressed by several of the writers in this volume, who tell us they should as soon think of doubting their own existence, as of doubting the existence of revivals proceeding from the immediate and special effusion of the Holy Spirit. When therefore we say, that important concessions are made here, we would not imply, that these concessions involve the great question of the origin of revivals or the fact of special divine influence. Confidence in this seems to be unabated, and we would neither question nor sneer at it. While men honestly hold this faith and act from it, they should be reasoned with, but not ridiculed. All must feel, that the whole subject of divine influences is too much above our comprehension, and too awful, to be ever trifled with, or approached with any but the most serious mind, open to light and conviction.

The Lectures, which compose the body of this work, were written in the ordinary course of the author's ministry, as he tells us, and delivered to his own congregation during the last autumn and winter. In his Preface he thus expresses his purpose :

"The grand object at which he has aimed has been to vindicate and advance the cause of *genuine* revivals of religion ; and in doing this, he has endeavoured to distinguish between a genuine revival and a spurious excitement ; to defend revivals against the cavils of their opposers ; to show the causes which operate to prevent or retard them ; to exhibit the agency of God, and the instrumentality of men, by which they are produced and sustained ; to guide the inquiring sinner, and establish the young convert ; to guard against the abuses to which revivals are liable, and to anticipate the glorious results to which they must lead."

In this passage our readers will see the plan to which Dr. Sprague has closely adhered ; giving us nine Lectures, making nearly three hundred broad pages, on the several

points here expressed. Of these, the first and great point is to distinguish between genuine and spurious revivals. And is it unfair to ask, if this very fact, by no means peculiar to the present case, does not of itself bring into reasonable suspicion the whole character of revivals? Why is it deemed necessary to do so much to enable men to tell what *are* true revivals? Why have labored attempts been made from the beginning, by the greatest and best men who have had part in these excitements, to establish rules by which the best influences of heaven can be distinguished from the worst passions of earth, by which the work of God can be known from the work of the devil? Why was Edwards, the great master-spirit and standard to whom all look on this subject, compelled to admit, that there are no *unerring* signs of the true religious affections in times of excitement, as these are times, of which the great adversary particularly avails himself to counteract the designs of God, and successfully imposes on the best men, using the friends of revivals, even more than the enemies, as his instruments? This does Edwards say plainly, as quoted here by Dr. Miller; "One truly zealous person, in the time of such an event, that seems to have a great hand in the affair, and draws the eyes of many upon him, may do more (through Satan's being too subtle for him) to hinder the work, than an hundred great, and strong, and open opposers." This in substance is admitted by all who have written on this subject. We find it implied repeatedly in this volume, and sometimes very strongly expressed. It is evident that every writer feels himself constrained, though he do nothing else, to admit and guard against the dreadful abuses to which revivals are liable. All appearances are allowed to be delusive at such times. The very best promises may fail, and not only fail, but prove themselves to have been hollow from the first. And not a few give us evidence of the fact which Dr. Alexander, of Princeton, has stated in this remarkable language; "I have never seen so great insensibility in any people, as in those who had been the subjects of violent religious excitement; and I have never seen any sinners so bold and reckless in their impiety, as those who had once been loud professors, and foremost in the time of revival." Dr. Woods says; "The feelings and words and actions of a professed convert may be owing to other

causes than the renewing of the Holy Spirit." Dr. Sprague assures us, that there are "instances innumerable, of persons who have for a season felt confident of their own conversion, and have been hailed by Christians as fellow-helpers in the work of the Lord, who have nevertheless subsequently been convinced themselves, and forced the conviction upon others, that what they had called Christian experience was mere delusion."

Pages might be filled with extracts from this book to the same purport. We think it not too much to say, that no feature of the book is more prominent, than its admission of the abuses; delusions, and dangers of revivals. Many of the writers appear to be burdened with the consciousness that religion has suffered, and is suffering, from this cause. They encourage the publication of this work with this particular view, and often use as strong terms as any opposers of revivals have used, in describing the dangers of this period of religious commotion. "The religious excitement," says President Lord, "is indeed well nigh universal; but I am not satisfied that it is all safe, and much of it, which has been called the work of God, will not, I fear, long bear that designation."

Now to what does this amount? What does it prove? It proves, say these gentlemen, that revivals, like every thing else, are liable to abuse. Yes, it proves that plainly enough, and we cannot give any one much credit for admitting that only. It proves also, that revivals are *peculiarly* liable to abuse. Nay, more, it proves that what seems to be the right and best use of revivals may be an abuse; that those who are enjoying apparently their best influences may be grossly deceived, and may grossly deceive others; the tree that is loaded with the richest blossoms may yield no fruit, but carry in its very richness of promise a poison for itself and those who approach it. It proves, in a word, that that which is felt by all who share, and pronounced by all who witness it, to be a wonderful work of God, may be a work of delusion and evil; an assertion allowed to be substantiated by the issue of some of the most remarkable revivals that our country has witnessed.

We must therefore ask again, Does not this admission, this fact, bring into reasonable suspicion the whole character of revivals? Does it not afford at least presumptive evi-

dence, that they are not, in any peculiar sense, the work of God? We are not surprised that some of these writers find it difficult to account for the fact, that God should permit the most powerful and best operations of his spirit to be often so perverted and even counterfeited; that those seasons when he is most remarkably present and gracious to his people, are seasons of peculiar danger to their souls! We account for the fact only by calling it in question. We doubt it. We demand proof of it. In the common operations of Divine power, it is not to be wondered at if men cannot always distinguish between the influence of a heavenly and an earthly spirit. But that the extraordinary, manifest, irresistible, and most glorious exertions of God's sovereignty, the miraculous effusions of his spirit, should be thus liable to mistake, and should lead many, who are supposed to be their blessed subjects, into the worst delusions, is indeed unaccountable. They say they do not pretend to account for it, yet such is the fact. We demand proof of the fact,—the fact that these are the effusions of God's spirit. For when they admit that the best appearances and promises may be delusive; when they assert that those who have been "foremost in the time of revival," may prove "bold and reckless in their impiety," they throw away all proof that can be drawn from the immediate effects of revivals. Dr. Sprague expressly affirms, that the immediate and partial effect of any measures in religion, "is no standard at all" by which to judge them. What then is the standard? The ultimate effect? We answer with Dr. Sprague again, that this "must furnish an inadequate rule for judging, for, in many cases at least, it is so general in its character that it is not easy to be traced." We have indeed the admission, that no appearance, no excitement, however violent or extensive, no assertion, or experience, or hope, or confidence, of a few or many, will prove the reality of a special divine influence. None of these establishes the fact of a *genuine* revival. And what will establish it? How does this book attempt to accomplish its first object, "to distinguish between a genuine revival and a spurious excitement?"

The first attempt is made by Dr. Woods in his "Introductory Essay." This Essay occupies twenty-four pages, and is one of the best treatises on conversion that we have ever seen of equal length. We remember few passages, to

which we should make any serious objection, or which we should not be willing to adopt and urge as our own. Its object is to determine by what rule we are to try and judge of "our title to the kingdom of heaven"; that is, how shall we know whether we or others possess the true Christian character? Dr. Woods's answer to this question is, that the only true and safe rule is "the word of God." He then brings several passages from Scripture, chiefly practical and plain, which appear to him to express this rule of judgment; and his inference is, that these passages require such a character as can be seen and known only by the life, the *fruits*. "Ye shall know them by their fruits;" and we cannot know ourselves or others by any thing else. It is no decisive evidence of conversion or religion, says Dr. Woods, that a man *says* he is converted, or that he really *thinks* he is converted, or that he has rapturous *joy*, or that he expresses a *hope*, or that he *resolves* to be a Christian. In all these he may be deceived himself, and deceive others. Whether he do or not, can be known only by the fruits of his present experience and purpose. Of course we can never judge at once.

"*Time* is necessary. The very nature of the rule shows this to be so. For how can the rule be applied to any one as a test of character, except as his character is made visible by his conduct? If we were omniscient, we could look directly into the heart, see all the secret springs of action, and pass sentence upon the character at once, without any danger of mistake. But as we can know men only by their fruits, we must wait for the fruits to appear. When we see blossoms upon a tree, we may hope for fruit, and may hope that the fruit will be good, and thus prove the tree to be good. But before we can actually judge as to the goodness of the tree, we must see and examine the fruit; and to do this we must take *time*. Without time it is impossible to determine, whether a sinner truly repents, and has a character which answers to the requisitions of God's holy word." — pp. 26, 27.

Than this nothing can be more Scriptural or rational, nothing more in accordance with our views and our preaching. So is all that Dr. Woods says of "sudden conversions." In reference to these we must extract one passage.

"A man is suddenly waked up to the importance of religion. Seeing himself to be a sinner, under condemnation, he is distressed and agitated. But on hearing the messages of divine mercy, and the offers of free pardon, he is filled with inexpress-

sible rapture, resolves to be a Christian, cries 'Glory to God,' and exults in the hope of heaven. Now, many Christians at the present day look upon such appearances as good evidence of a saving change, and, without any qualification, speak of the person who exhibits them as *converted*. But is this according to truth? Is it the dictate of Christian wisdom? What real evidence is there, that the person described has been savingly converted? Does the evidence consist in the sudden waking up of the mind to the things of religion? in a consciousness of guilt? in fear, and distress, and agitation? We learn from the Scriptures, that these things afford no satisfactory evidence of conversion." — pp. 23, 24.

The rule, then, which we are to use for the test of the Christian character, is the patient, long observation of conduct. In order to be proved, every one "must have time, opportunities, occasions, trials." Dr. Woods does not expressly bring to this rule the question as to the character and effect of revivals, but he must intend that it shall be so applied, or he would not have made it the introduction to this volume. We are therefore to bear it in mind in judging of revivals. Let us look next at Dr. Sprague's view of the same point.

We find it in his first Lecture. After admitting that "it is no certain indication of a genuine revival, that there is great excitement," nor yet "that great numbers profess to be converted," nor yet that there is "an extensive and violent opposition"; he finds the first indication of a genuine revival in the fact, that it "has been effected by *Scriptural means*." To this there can of course be no objection, except that, as it is here treated, it is no rule. For when we ask what are "Scriptural means," we are told, that they are such means as "God's word either directly prescribes or fairly sanctions"; and under this saving clause, "fairly sanctions," there is room enough for any interpretation and any use of means that the wildest enthusiast may choose. Accordingly, in the next Lecture, where the rule is applied, we see its looseness and uselessness. It is said, that, in order to prove any thing unscriptural, we must not only show, "that it is not expressly commanded," but must also show, that is "expressly or implicitly forbidden." Whatever, then, is not expressly or implicitly forbidden in Scripture is Scriptural. Will Dr. Sprague have the goodness to apply this rule to a few of the enormities that have appeared

in the church, such as the sale of indulgences, the power of the Inquisition, or the recent pretence to the gift of tongues? Will he consent, that these or similar measures should be tried by this rule, the authors of the measures being themselves judges, as of course they must be? Or, he being judge, can he point out the inconsistency between these measures and the institutions of God, more easily than between those institutions and the means peculiar to a modern revival? To the manner in which he uses Scripture in this relation, we shall have occasion to refer again.

The next mark of a genuine revival is, "*a due proportion of reflection and feeling.*" This too would be very well, if there were any fixed mode of determining what is a due proportion of reflection and feeling, or if we could always discern the proportion. As it is, the rule is of little use. Still we are very glad to see reflection recommended in connexion with revivals. There cannot be too much of it in regard to any measures or experiences in religion. And we rejoice to see, in such a work, sentiments like this: "If there be a great deal of feeling with very little thought, burning heat with only dim and doubtful light; if the sensibilities of the soul be wrought into a storm, none can tell how or why; then, rely on it, it is not a work which God owns; or if there are some true conversions, far the greater number may be expected to prove spurious."

The last and definite mark of the genuineness of a revival "*is its substantial and abiding fruit.*" Thus we have, in the end, the same rule that Dr. Woods gave us, and it is explained in the same way. It is again admitted, that present convictions, transports, or professions, are not evidence to be relied on; for "delusion and self-deception are consistent with the most promising appearances which are ever exhibited." We must try the character of revivals as we do that of individuals, by the fruits; and we must wait to see what the fruits are.

"If an excitement on the subject of religion (no matter how great it may have been) passes away, and leaves behind little or no substantial good; if most of those who profess to have been converted, return speedily or gradually to the world, living a careless life, and exhibiting an unedifying example; or if they manifest a spirit of pride and uncharitableness, and a disposition to condemn all who do not exactly come to their

standard, then rely on it, though that may be *called* a revival of religion, it has little more than the name. Religion acted out in the life is the best evidence that religion has its dwelling in the heart. Let the virtues and graces of the Christian adorn the lives of those who have professed to be converted during a revival, and you need ask for no better evidence that *there* has been the agency of the Spirit of God." — pp. 21, 22.

We admit it. But, observe, it does not follow, that there was no agency there but that of God. It does not follow, that his agency was miraculous, or special, or local, nor that it gave the first or chief impulse to the revival. It does not follow, that there was not there an agency of man, perverting or mistaking the agency of God, and producing on the whole a preponderance of evil. More than all, it does not follow, that all the evil, or danger of evil, might not have been avoided, and all the good secured, by a faithful, quiet use of the regular institutions and means of religion, without resorting to means, which, by the admission of the strongest friends of revivals, are always liable to abuse. Here is the point at which we take our stand. Here lies the sophistry or fallacy of the common mode of reasoning on this subject. It is affirmed by the advocates, and admitted by the opponents of revivals, that they are attended with much positive good; that some of the best influences of religion are then imparted, and its best promises fulfilled. There is an unusual attention to religion. It is for a time the first, absorbing interest. Not only the thoughtful, but many who before were unconcerned, are roused, engaged, excited, alarmed, and led to ask "what they shall do to be saved." "Lovers of pleasure" are stopped in their mad chase, and even the cold, calculating man of business, whose thoughts have seemed almost incapable of any direction but that of worldly gain, has suddenly turned his eye and his steps toward the imperishable riches. The whole aspect of a community is sometimes changed in a few weeks, the common paths of life forsaken, and those only thronged, which lead to the house of God and the place of prayer. All this we have heard, much of it we have seen, and we did not need the present volume, many and highly respectable and undoubted as are its testimonies to such facts, to convince us of the truth of these things. We must indeed qualify our assent, when we hear the author of this

work and several of its contributors assert, that "far the greater number of those who are turned from darkness to light," owe their conversion directly and entirely to revivals. It may be true within their denominations and their range of action, and according to the common mode of numbering conversions. But in reference to all Christians, and to religion as independent of peculiar doctrines and manifestations, it is an assertion which none can prove and none should make. With this exception, we admit all here said of the good effects of revivals. We believe there is a good spirit often in the midst of them, the spirit of God and his Christ.

Why, then, we are confidently asked, — as if the argument were here at an end, — why do you not encourage these excitements? For the plain and Christian reason, that we honestly believe them, in their common form, to proceed on a false principle, and to be productive, of positive good indeed, but also of positive evil far outweighing the good. They proceed on a false principle, — the assumption that they are the effect of the special operation of God's spirit; that in an unusual sense he is their first cause, and is present in them with a power and grace altogether peculiar. This is assumed, and all must see, that, if it be not true, to believe it and act upon it must be pernicious. We believe that it is not true. It has never been supported by any thing like satisfactory evidence. The argument, by which revivalists attempt to uphold it, is twofold; first, an argument from Scripture, and, secondly, from the actual, visible effects. As to the argument from Scripture, we have never been able to believe men quite sincere in using it. It is drawn, first, from the occasional use of the word *revive*, in such passages as these: "O Lord, revive thy work;" "Wilt thou not revive us again?" — passages which Dr. Sprague soberly adduces in proof, that the Bible has given a direct sanction to revivals. Of such proof we have nothing to say. Those who can receive it, would not understand any thing that we should be willing to call argument. Next, we are told, that there are *instances* of revivals in Scripture. For these we are referred to the reigns of David and Solomon, of Asa and Jehoshaphat, of Hezekiah and Josiah, to the return of the Jews from captivity, to the times of John the Baptist, and to the day of Pentecost. Is there a man

of sense in the land, of any sect or any experience, who will not own, that the periods and events, here referred to, would never have suggested to him the thought of a revival, as the term is now generally understood, had he not first believed in revivals, and then turned to these passages in support of them? What is Dr. Sprague thinking of, when he says that here are facts "precisely analogous" to those which we object to in revivals of the present day? He does not believe it. He cannot see or intend any other analogy than the naked fact, that there have always been seasons and events of peculiar prominence in a religious view; more of God's power manifested, and men's hearts more evidently and generally affected by this manifestation, at one time than at another. Does this constitute or prove a revival? Then indeed have there been revivals in every age of the world, in every sect of Christians, and every community of men.

The history of the effusion of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, is the only passage, brought from Scripture as affording an instance of a revival, which calls for remark. And what does that history tell us? Simply this; that miraculous powers were then given to the Apostles, and given so visibly and remarkably, that the Jews who were near, "devout men," when they witnessed the effects, were astonished and confounded. Peter, seizing the opportunity of fixing the attention thus roused, gave them a calm narration of the promises of God in regard to Christ and the effusion of the spirit, telling them that it was the same Jesus whom they had crucified, who, "being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear." This fact thus brought home to them, thus miraculously attested, compelled them to admit the truth of Christianity, and three thousand of them at once renounced their Jewish prejudices, and were baptized into the Christian faith. These are the facts. You cannot make any thing else of them. You cannot prove, that a miraculous influence was imparted to any but the Apostles, or that it consisted in any thing but gifts peculiar to their office. You cannot prove, that the same influence has ever been imparted since, or that the conversion of the three thousand was analogous to conversions in Christian communities;

that being a change, not of heart or character necessarily, but of religion, a change from Judaism to Christianity. This fact seems to be wholly overlooked by many at present, and by some who have no apology for overlooking or concealing it. It seems also to be forgotten, that, in the preaching of Peter which led to this conversion of the multitude, there is not one of the *doctrines* which are now said to be essential to the production of a genuine revival. Several of the writers, in the book before us, have given us a list of doctrines, which they have always preached in times of revival, and to which they chiefly ascribe the effect produced. Now we wish it to be remembered, that, according to this criterion, Peter's preaching was utterly defective, and the consequent conversions not genuine. For never was there a sermon preached more thoroughly Unitarian, than his at that time. Its very pith and burden were, that Jesus, *a man approved of God by miracles which God did by him*, though crucified by them, *God had raised up*, and made that same Jesus both *Lord and Christ*. We therefore call on Dr. Sprague, and all who insist that this was a genuine revival, to preach the same doctrine and no other, and use the same means and no other. Or let them own, as we should think every reader of the Bible must do, that its whole tone, and especially the dignified and calm spirit of Christ, powerfully rebuke every thing like the stir, and passion, and management of a revival.

We are brought back then to the *effects* of revivals, as affording the only ground, on which it is possible to defend their claims to a supernatural impulse. It is evidently by observing these effects, and not by any thing they find in Scripture, that men are led to ascribe revivals directly to God. And are these effects sufficient to bear up the claim? Not unless it can be proved, that the same effects *could not* be produced without this extraordinary influence. There is the point. Satisfy us that these are effects which no human agency or human principles can account for, and we will admit a special divine agency. But all religion, as well as all philosophy and life, show, that it is nothing to prove that good and great effects follow these excitements. Most extraordinary would it be, if they did not. So do they from all great excitements, even the most fearful commotions in the natural and moral world. These all do good, directly or

indirectly. But are they therefore to be prayed for and helped by all the means in our power? Are we to ask for an earthquake or a conflagration, because, while it piles in ruins half our city, it will throw employment into the hands of thousands of the destitute and suffering? If we intended this as a strict parallel, we should be borne out by the language used in this book, in relation to the disastrous effects of some great revivals; such as that of Davenport in the last century, and the more recent revival in Kentucky and Tennessee. It is plain that two points must be clearly made out, before the argument in favor of revivals will be established. It must first be proved, that the good they do exceeds the evil, and then it must be shown, that the means employed are not adequate to produce or to account for the effect, without supposing a supernatural cause. Consider the variety, extent, and power of the measures commonly used; consider the principles and passions of our nature; consider, especially, though usually it is least considered, the state of preparation of the people to be acted upon, having entire faith in the reality of the work, and feeling that their eternal happiness depends upon their believing and experiencing it in all its power; consider this and much more, belonging to what these writers themselves call the "human machinery" of revivals,—and you must allow, that together it will account for any effect that has been known to follow these movements.

It is difficult to make any fair comparison of the good and evil effects of revivals. Good and evil are so mixed in almost every connexion, and so many causes operate to produce any great result, especially such a result as a good or bad character, that little confidence can be placed in the best calculations. It is sometimes said, that the value of one soul being incalculable, if we can secure a single true conversion, it will balance much evil. True; but how much? Not the evil of losing or endangering ten souls. We are glad to see no such wild and foolish assertions in the volume before us. As we have said, it is remarkable for its honest admission of dangers and evils attending revivals. In fact these admissions are such, that, taken in connexion with another point to which we will advert, they seem to us to invalidate, if not to overthrow, the extraordinary pretensions of modern revivals. Dr. Sprague has given us a

long and admirable Lecture on "Evils to be avoided in connexion with revivals," from which we would gladly make large extracts, had we room, for we could hardly find language that would better express our own views. Among the evils that he admits, are the encouraging false hopes, self-confidence, self-deception, censoriousness, ostentation, passion, fanaticism, indecorum, irreverence, sectarianism, false standards of character, undervaluing divine institutions, coldness and declension, hasty admissions to the church, and infidelity. Now it were very unjust to say, that revivals alone are chargeable with such evils, for most of them may be found in connexion with all religious systems and measures. But when we see, as the last five years abundantly prove, that the most strenuous defenders of revivals are not only forced to admit, that these seasons are peculiarly fruitful of such evils, but are so alarmed as to write letters, hold conventions, and publish books, to prevent or counteract these evils,* we have a right to draw an inference in favor of what we have always believed and said. In regard to one of the evils admitted, we find this remarkable assertion near the close of the eighth Lecture: "If we knew all who had rushed into infidelity in consequence of what they have seen and heard in connexion with revivals, I fear we should be overwhelmed by the discovery."

But it is in the Appendix to this volume, that we find the most abundant confirmation of all we have ever said of the evils of revivals. There are here twenty Letters, making one hundred and sixty-five pages in small, close print; and the impression, left upon the mind of every one who reads them, must be, that revivals are at best very hazardous experiments, taking the accounts of the most intelligent of their advocates. All the evils just mentioned are specified again and again, by these writers, in a way that shows them to be the almost invariable attendants of these excitements. The "new measures" are spoken of with unqualified censure by some, and recommended by none. The system of "anxious seats," so called "in bad English," as Dr. Griffin well says, is pointedly condemned, and the

* In the late session of the General Assembly at Philadelphia, a resolution was offered, and prevailed, to prepare a pastoral letter to the churches, "to counteract the disorderly practices" connected with revivals.

whole practice, in its various modes, of calling out new converts, or those who think themselves such, and making them "commit themselves," is treated as it deserves. It is admitted, that these measures do little else than encourage the self-confident and the self-righteous. Dr. Miller, of Princeton, gives some facts.

"On a late occasion, and in a house of worship not very far distant from this place, when, after a solemn discourse, a request was made, that all who were anxious, or resolved to attend to their spiritual interests, should immediately arise and signify their determination; the *first* person that arose was a young man, in whom the odor of strong drink was very offensive; who was evidently more than half drunk at the time; and who never, before or afterwards, manifested any serious concern on the subject. In another place and on another occasion, when a similar request was made, the *only* person that arose was a woman of very dubious character, who is not supposed, I believe, by any one, to have been, either then or since, under any thing that deserves to be called real anxiety of mind." — *Appendix*, p. 40.

There are several general statements as to the improper means often resorted to in aid of revivals. We give one from Mr. McIlvaine's letter.

"Great scandal has been raised by indiscretion, and what I cannot call by any lighter name than *fraud*, on the part of some seekers of a revival. The agency of the Holy Spirit, as the beginning and ending, has been almost or entirely set aside. A revival has been represented and sought for as an article of manufacture, for which you have only to set the machinery and raise the steam of excitement, caring little with what fuel, and converts will be made to hand. Artifices to catch attention; devices to entrap the careless; representations to create impression; an exaggerated style of preaching to produce alarm; to shake suspicious hopes and raise a state of general excitement, no matter of what kind, so that it brings people to hear; have in some cases been put into requisition, over which truth, and reverence, and humility, and faith must weep, and which have done more to injure revivals in certain places, than all the direct opposition of coldness and unbelief. Blessed be God, these things are not characteristic of revivals of religion, but only of some minds associated with the name. In the great majority of what have been called by this name, they have not appeared, or have been only very partial exceptions to the general rule. But in proportion as

a revival-spirit shall spread in the churches, will the danger of these mischiefs increase. The very excellence of the cause will be its exposure to the abuse of unbalanced zeal and to the devices of Satan." — *Appendix*, p. 90.

A convenient way this, in which to account for these abuses. And a singular "revival-spirit" must that be, which, coming immediately from God, will yet multiply evils in proportion as it extends. This letter, however, is one of the best in the collection. Mr. McIlvaine speaks fearlessly of the danger which we have always thought one of the greatest in revivals, — that of encouraging the idea, "that the love of meetings is religion."

Some of the writers say, that no marked revival has ever visited their people. Among these we were surprised to find Dr. Payson, of Portland, whose letter is dated 1821, and who says, though he had then been connected with his society thirteen years, "we have had no general revival, but there has been some religious attention during the whole period of my ministry."

Dr. Griffin's letter is characteristic. He gives an account of the eight revivals which his college has enjoyed in twenty-six years, with the number of converts and backsliders, in that cold, official manner, in which the keeper of an almshouse would make out the returns of the new arrivals and the dead. There is honesty however in the following passages, and some information may be gained from them.

"I have no fellowship with harsh or violent measures; such as abruptly telling a professor, that she has no religion and is going directly to hell (merely because she is cold); and when she is horror-struck and begs you to pray for her, tearing yourself away and saying, I *won't* pray for you, and breaking out of the room, leaving her in agonies on the floor; all to shake her off from dependence on you, but really endangering her reason and life." "Nor have I any more complacency in public personalities; such as calling people by name in prayer or preaching; holding up certain neighbourhoods as subjects of public prayer, on account of their special wickedness or neglects; and, worse than all, deliberately laboring to make sinners angry, in order to show them how they hate God, and his people, and his truth; thus doing evil that good may come." — *Appendix*, pp. 163, 164.

It will not be inferred, that these Letters speak only of evils connected with revivals. They are strong in assu-

rances, that these seasons are truly "showers of mercy," and the immediate work of God; though this they only assert, without attempting to prove it. Many cases of revival are given in detail, of which a few are said to have been the result of no extraordinary means, nor attended with any extravagant demonstrations. If this be strictly true, they are indeed singular cases. One of them we think it but justice to give at length, as the most remarkable. It is from the letter of Dr. McDowell, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey.

"The next revival, with which the Lord favored my ministry, visibly commenced in December, 1812. It was on a Communion Sabbath. There was nothing peculiarly arousing in the preaching. I was not expecting such an event; neither, as far as I have ever discovered, was there any peculiar engagedness in prayer, or special desire or expectation, on the part of Christians. I saw nothing unusual in the appearance of the congregation; and it was not until after the services of the day were ended, when several called, in deep distress, to ask me what they should do to be saved, that I knew that the Lord was specially in this place. This was a day of such power (though I knew it not at the time) that as many as *thirty*, who afterwards joined the church, were then first awakened. And it is a remarkable circumstance, that the same powerful influence was experienced, on the same day, in both of the Presbyterian churches in the neighbouring town of Newark. It was also communion season in both those churches. This revival continued about a year; and the number of persons added to the communion of this church, as its fruits, were about one hundred and ten. The subjects of this revival, generally, were deeply and long distressed, and, in many instances, their distress affected their bodily frames. Frequently sobbing aloud was heard in our meetings, and, in some instances, there was a universal trembling, and in others a privation of bodily strength, so that the subjects were not able to get home without help. In this respect this revival was different from any others which I have witnessed. I never dared to speak against this bodily agitation, lest I should be found speaking against the Holy Ghost; but I never did any thing to encourage it. It may be proper here to relate one case of a young man, who was then a graduate of one of our colleges, and is now a very respectable and useful minister of Christ. Near the commencement of the revival, he was led, for the first time, reluctantly, and out of complaisance to his sisters, to a meeting in a private house. I was present, and spoke two or three times between prayers, in which some of my people led. The audience was

solemn, but perfectly still. I commenced leading in the concluding prayer. A suppressed sob reached my ears; it continued and increased. I brought the prayer speedily to a close, and cast my eyes over the audience, when, behold, it was this careless, proud young man, who was standing near me, leaning on his chair, sobbing and trembling in every part, like the Philippian jailor. He raised his eyes towards me, and then tottered forward, threw his arms on my shoulders, and cried out, "What shall I do to be saved?" A scene ensued, the like of which I never witnessed. The house was full, and there was immediately, by the power of sympathy I suppose, a universal sobbing through the assembly. He repeatedly begged me to pray for him. I felt so overcome with the solemnity of the scene, and fearful of the disorder which might ensue in the excited state of feeling, that I held this trembling young man for half an hour, without speaking a word. I then persuaded him to go home with me, and the audience to retire. His strength was so weakened, that he had to be supported. From that hour he appeared to give his whole soul to the subject of religion. He continued in a state of deep anxiety and distress for nearly two months, when he settled down in a peaceful state of mind, hoping in the Saviour." — *Appendix*, pp. 63, 64.

We have no disposition to speak lightly of such cases; but we see nothing in the most wonderful of them that requires us to believe in miraculous influence; nor can we forget, what some of these writers tell us, that even their confidence in the correctness of the reports of revivals has "been exceedingly diminished."

We come then to these results, and are greatly confirmed in them by the book before us. Revivals are peculiarly liable to abuses and great evils, by the admission of all. Their best influences can never be distinguished from the worst by their immediate effects; and their remote effects can seldom be traced with entire confidence. They exhibit nothing that cannot be explained by reference to human means and common principles. The spirit of God may be in the midst of them, but only as it is granted to all who sincerely ask and earnestly seek it. Connect these conclusions with another important point, to which we intended more particularly to refer, the definition which many of these men give of a revival. Take, for instance, Dr. Wayland's definition: "By revivals of religion I mean special seasons, in which the minds of men, within a certain district,

or in a certain congregation, are more than usually susceptible of impression from the exhibition of moral truth." It is admitted also, that private exercises are more important at such times, than at any other, and may be more effectual; that "there may be a true revival where all is calm and noiseless." Moreover we are told, that seasons of revival are marked by the amount of "religious instruction" given, a feature quite new to us. In the possibility, occurrence, and blessing of such revivals, we believe. We pray and would strive for them. Let men admit the dangers and evils that are admitted in this volume; let them lay aside the machinery and measures which are here censured; let them proclaim a revival there, and there only, where there is an increased soberness and active interest in all that is true, and spiritual, and imperishable, all that can exalt society and lead men to Christ and God,—then we will believe, and unite, and heartily rejoice.

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- ART. V.—1. *Christian Messenger*. By B. W. STONE and JOHN T. JOHNSON, Elders in the Church of Christ. 12mo. [Published monthly.] Georgetown, Kentucky.
2. *The Millennial Harbinger*, Edited by ALEXANDER CAMPBELL. 8vo. [Published monthly.] Bethany, Virginia.
3. *The Evangelist*. By WALTER SCOTT. [Published monthly.] 12mo. Cincinnati, Ohio.

THE first of these periodical publications is supported by the Christian Connexion; the other two by the Reformed Baptists, or Reformers, as they are commonly called. We shall throw together such slight notices as we have been able to collect from these works, and from other sources, of the history and principles of both denominations, and their prospects in the West.

The oldest society in the Christian Connexion was formed in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in March, 1803. The brethren professed to renounce all impositions of mere human authority in matters of faith and conscience, and to come together on the common ground of believers in the gospel, each one reserving to himself the right, as a member

of the society, to interpret the gospel according to the light which God should give him. A similar movement, not from concert, but from a common feeling of impatience under the tyranny of established creeds and ecclesiastical judicatories, was made about the same time throughout the United States; in consequence of which the denomination almost immediately arose into consequence alike for its numbers and its zeal. In New England it consisted for the most part, in the beginning, of secessions from the regular Baptists; in the South, of secessions from the Methodists; in the West, of secessions from the Presbyterians.

The statistics of the body, from its want of organization, or a regular correspondence among its members, must depend, more than such computations usually do, on conjecture. Mr. Stone, writing in 1829, makes the number of congregations in the Christian Connexion in the United States to be fifteen hundred, and the number of communicants to be one hundred and fifty thousand; and allowing, as is usual in such estimates, at least four hearers, on an average, to every communicant, he concludes, that the whole number of souls actually under the influence of this denomination must exceed half a million. The *Quarterly Register and Journal*, in 1830, gives them one thousand churches, three hundred ministers, and thirty thousand communicants. Mr. Flint, in the second edition of his excellent *History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley*, published the present year, gives them two hundred ministers, eight hundred congregations, twenty-five thousand communicants, and two hundred and seventy-five thousand worshippers. The remarkable discrepancy in these estimates does not appear to have originated in any real or supposed decline of the denomination in numbers or influence, during the three last years, taking the whole country together. From the best evidence which we have been able to collect, it is probable that Mr. Stone has not much overstated the present number of congregations in the Connexion; but that he has overstated, by at least one half, the number of communicants, and, nearly in the same proportion, the number of souls otherwise connected with the societies. Mr. Clough, in his letter to Mr. Smallfield, says, that the minutes of the Conferences, in 1827, gave "an aggregate of about five hundred ministers"; they may now amount to seven hundred and fifty.

They are singularly fortunate in their name, not merely because it is the most proper in itself, and the first given to believers, and, as some contend, by divine injunction, but because, while it answers all the purposes of a distinguishing appellation, it has not the effect, in itself considered, like almost every other known in the church, to suggest and keep alive sectarian distinctions and jealousies. For a time, it is true, they had to submit, almost universally, and still have to submit in some places, to a mispronunciation of their name, being called *Christ-yans*; but this is passing away every where, as a mere vulgarism. While others are content to be called Calvinists or Arminians, Episcopalians or Presbyterians, they alone, one of the most recent sects, and, we may add, one of the most despised, will go down in history as "the Christians."

Of their distinctive opinions and sentiments it is not easy to speak, as each one appears to have brought into the Connexion the peculiar theological prejudices in which he was educated; and it has not been the aim, nor the policy of the party, to produce a real or seeming uniformity in matters of mere speculation. Neither have any pains been taken to define with accuracy and precision their general points of agreement, except as regards their unanimous rejection of creeds, and confessions, and ecclesiastical authority over faith and conscience. As might have been confidently expected, however, of a body who renounced all other guides, in the investigation of religious truth, but the word of God, they are understood to have become every where, with scarcely a single exception, anti-Calvinistic and anti-Trinitarian. In the Western country, where they have adhered, most faithfully, to the original principle of union, they continue to flourish, and are increasing at this moment as rapidly, perhaps, as at any former period; but in other places, it is understood that serious difficulties and misunderstandings have arisen, by which their progress has been checked.

The establishment of the Christian church in the West may be said to date from the secession of five Presbyterian clergymen from the regular presbyteries, with which they had previously been connected, in the neighbourhood of Lexington, Kentucky, and the formation by them of an independent association, known by the name of the Spring-

field Presbytery. This took place in 1803, not in consequence of any charges brought against the moral or religious character of the seceders, but voluntarily on their part, because they would not be amenable any longer to human tribunals, which required them to receive for doctrines the commandments of men. Nothing, however, could save them from a storm of abuse and a series of petty persecutions, from their Orthodox brethren; and the synod, hoping, it would seem, by prompt and energetic measures to crush the growing discontent, even went so far as to send agents into their societies, to declare their ministerial functions suspended, and their pulpits vacant. Happily their congregations, for the most part, remained firm; the influence and popularity of the seceders, in the community generally, were increased, rather than diminished, by the wrongs they endured; the Methodists, especially, received them with open arms, in conjunction with whom, and the Cumberland Presbyterians, they were among the most active and successful in promoting the great revival, which prevailed about that time, and for several years successively, in Kentucky and Tennessee.

Mr. Stone, the senior editor of the "*Messenger*," was one of the proscribed five, who instituted the Springfield Presbytery, and appears, at that time, to have entertained no doubts about the validity of infant baptism; but he, and the denomination generally, soon became converts to the practice of adult baptism by immersion, though not disposed to insist upon it, like the Reformed Baptists, as a condition of Christian fellowship. After this change they agreed, in most respects, with the Free-will Baptists, in regard to what are called "doctrines of grace," but were understood to differ much more generally and widely, than the latter, from the common opinions respecting the Trinity and Atonement, and to be much more jealous of the absolute and entire independency of their churches on one another. Of course, it was hardly to be expected, that a sect or denomination, gathered in seasons of great excitement, having but little regular communication or correspondence among themselves, acknowledging no common standard or authority but the Bible, and but poorly prepared to understand that according to fixed and generally received principles of interpretation, could go on together, for any length of time, in

perfect harmony. On the subject of the practical errors and extravagances into which the Western Christians have fallen from time to time, Mr. Stone speaks, in the following extract, with his accustomed candor and good sense.

“At the commencement of our struggle for Christian liberty, we acted on the defensive; our weapons were those afforded us by the Bible. These, in the spirit of humility and unceasing prayer, we wielded to good effect against the combined, the mighty, and innumerable forces of opponents. Our only hope, confidence, and strength was the Lord. In this humble war against such fearful odds, we firmly stood, gained ground, and prevailed beyond all calculation. Public opinion was in our favor, and multitudes crowded to the standard of truth and liberty. Here, pride, that busy sin, imperceptibly began to inflate us on account of our successes; and what might have been our end, had not the scourge of Shakerism been inflicted, God only knows. This was a bitter, but a humiliating pill; and though an evil, yet overruled for our salvation. Again we rallied our broken and discouraged forces; again renewed our fervent applications to God for help, and humbled ourselves at his feet; again he heard and restored us; and again his truth was attended to by many, and received in the love of it.

“Here is another error into which we fell. Rescued from the destructive snares of Shakerism, some of our brethren wished to make a stand, and to set up a formulary of doctrine, which should speak, ‘Hitherto thou mayest come, but no farther.’ This was thought necessary to guard us against similar evils to those just before experienced. Confidence in the Bible to effect this, was considerably lost. This plan was warmly and successfully opposed by a large majority, who were determined to stand or fall with the Bible alone. The minority withdrew from us, and united with the different sects around us, and soon, very soon, drank deeply into their spirit, and became our bitter opposers.

“Now, it was confidently predicted that we must fall. The pride and boast of party were against them. Their overcharged artillery, levelled at us, burst on themselves to their great injury, but none to us. Here again we erred; we substituted offensive instead of defensive war, and attacked our opposers in their strongly entrenched speculations and opinions. In this we appeared to succeed; and the judgment of multitudes was, that our opinions were more correct. In this offensive warfare we gained popularity, but lost much of humility and fervent piety. The loss infinitely exceeded the gain. This was seen, felt, and deplored. We had zeal, but it was too much to in-

crease our numbers and to disseminate and confirm our opinions. For a world in ruins there were, comparatively, few tears, few sighs, and but feeble exertions; sectarians were proscribed by some, not in the spirit of meekness and love, but with a bitterness unbecoming a humble Christian. Many seemed to glory in the flesh, I mean, in having many persons of influence and wealth to join our ranks. Here, truly, have we erred and gone astray. These acts I disapprove, and am ashamed of them." — *Christian Messenger*, VI. pp. 198, 199.

The statements, sometimes made in the journals unfriendly to the Christians, that they are declining in numbers, and losing their hold on the public favor, are, we are confident, without foundation, at least as regards the West. Mr. Flint, who, as we have shown, adopts the lowest estimates of the churches and communicants in their Connexion, says, the present year: "The Christians, who are Unitarian in their sentiments, have four hundred flourishing congregations in Ohio and Kentucky." They are also to be found in considerable numbers in Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, and Georgia. Our readers may be able, perhaps, to form a better judgment of the numbers and strength of the Christian church in Kentucky from the following table, drawn up last year, and believed at that time to be exact and full, as far as it went.

" Name of the House, or Place of Worship.	The County in which it is situated.	The Year the Church was planted.	Number of Members.
1. Republican (Wood)	Fayette	1803	205
2. Bethel (Brick)	Do.	Do.	85
3. Union (Do.)	Do.	1823	84
4. Berea (Do.)	Do.	1827	40
5. Lexington (Do.)	Do.	1816	24
6. Mt. Tabor (Stone)	Do.	1803	20
7. Cane-Ridge (Wood)	Bourbon	Do.	115
8. Rockbridge	Do.	unknown	45
9. Flat Run	Do.	1820	55
10. Mt. Carmel (Brick)	Do.	1816	45
11. Antioch (Do.)	Do.	1827	48
12. Millersburg (Wood)	Do.	1824	42
13. Paris (Brick)	Do.	1828	66
14. Clintonville (Do.)	Do.	1830	15

"In the above churches, embracing only two counties, there are 10 preachers and 889 members." — *Christian Messenger*, VI. p. 48.

Allowing, as usual, four worshippers on an average for every communicant, and making our inferences from the state of things in the two counties above mentioned, it follows, that the Christians, before their late union with the Reformed Baptists, had about one twelfth of the whole population.

We copy in this connexion part of a letter from Georgia, as throwing considerable light on the condition and policy of the Christians prior to the late union.

" August 21st, 1829.

" BROTHER STONE, — The brethren and friends of the north-western section of this state [Georgia], having solicited me to inform you of the present situation of the churches of Christ among us, I have, in compliance with their wishes, been induced to make the following statements :

" In the bounds of my circuit there are twenty-three churches or congregations. These churches, it is thought, will, upon an average, number twenty-five members of good standing.

" If I am correct in these calculations, and I feel confident that in them I have fallen below the real number of communicants, you will discover our number to be at least five hundred and seventy-five church members. With us there are twenty elders, and six licensed preachers and exhorters.

" We have an annual conference of the elders and preachers. Deacons, delegates, and private or lay members present, have the right of participating in all matters which come before the conference. Our conference assumes no authority to legislate ; nor does it carry into effect its own resolutions by penal enactments, but by simple recommendations. The powers of the conference are restricted to the bare regulation of the temporal concerns of the church ; nor can it go one step beyond this, without manifest innovations, in which case the members are not bound by any natural or moral tie to submit. Our annual conference takes place, or rather commences, on Friday before the third Sabbath in December, annually.

" Our camp-meetings commence the last of July, or first of August, in every year, and are carried on till the first of the ensuing November, at various times and places. They are conducted in the main after the fashion of the Methodist camp-meetings.

" With regard to doctrine, perhaps I ought not to say any thing, for fear it might be said that I exhibit something too near a tie to a confession of faith. But an idea of this kind I as heartily discard as I do any and every confession of faith under the sun, the Bible excepted.

"This book, the Bible, we love, because we do believe it the truth from God. We regard it as the only rule of Christian faith, and consequently we defend it to the last point. Our only source of sorrow is, that we have not sufficient strength to proclaim it out to Christianized infidels and to heathen lands. Yes, my brother, I feel, as regards myself, willing to spend and be spent in the glorious work of bringing back a lost and ruined world to the purer fountain of life, whence flow the clear streams of eternal salvation. But with regard to the doctrine, generally taught by our preachers here, and which is, with some slight shades of difference, received by the churches, I can say, they are such as are taught in other states by the Christian preachers.

"We believe, in the first place, that Jesus Christ is truly and properly the Son of God. Secondly, that he existed with the Father before the world was created. Thirdly, we believe that Jesus Christ, our Saviour, is the constituted Lord of all things. We believe in atonement, as expressed in your letters, or address, to the churches of Kentucky. We believe in baptism by immersion, after conversion, &c. Our cause in this state is advancing, in some neighbourhoods rapidly, and in others but slowly. The third day of last July I baptized an old lady of seventy years. She had formerly been a Methodist. On the fourth Sabbath of the same month, I baptized four, of the following ages: sister Montgomery, eighty; sister Jones, sixty-three; sister Truett, sixty-one: and brother Truett, seventy-three." — *Christian Messenger*, IV. 44-46.

For the same purpose we give the following:

"Extract of a letter from Elder Henry B. Hays, dated Flemington, North Carolina, June 5, 1830. — 'It is generally a dull time with professors of religion in this state, though we have experienced some refreshing seasons in different places, which causes us to thank God and take courage. The Christian connexion, in this state, labor under disadvantages. There are something like twenty or thirty preachers, and several hundred members, who believe in infant baptism, through the influence of Elder O'Kelly, as I believe. They hold annual conferences, sometimes in this state, and sometimes in the central part of Virginia. They discard immersion, and consider all such as practice it Baptists. There is also a conference, to which I belong, held annually in this and the adjoining counties, which practise baptism by immersion. A correspondence has been opened between our conference and the F. Baptist conference in the Eastern part of this state. They appear to be gaining ground fast, and are anxious for a union

with the Christian connexion. Much good, I humbly trust, will be done by our united exertions in building up the waste places of Zion. Elder E. Hutchens, of the state of Maine, of the F. Baptist communion, has been laboring in this state with good success; but is now about to leave us for the state of Indiana.' " — *Christian Messenger*, IV. p. 215.

For some time back, and especially since the union with the Reformers, the Christians have refrained, very judiciously, from the Trinitarian controversy, to which, about four or five years ago, they were not a little addicted. The following account of a public disputation on this subject, which took place in Cumberland county, Kentucky, is given by a Christian elder, and confirmed by the moderator who presided at the meeting.

"Near the close of 1828, Mr. Dungan, a Methodist preacher, preached on Crocas creek in this county; and after preaching, in conversation with some gentlemen, said, that he would discuss the Divinity of Jesus Christ with Mr. Jourdan, or find a man to do it. Mr. Jourdan, on hearing this, wrote Mr. Dungan a friendly challenge; giving him the privilege, should he decline the invitation, to fill his place with the man of his choice. He declined, and Mr. Stamper took his place, and wrote to Mr. Jourdan his acceptance of the challenge. Soon after they met in Burksville, and in the presence of Messrs. Saufley, Owsley, and Taylor, agreed upon the time, place, and some other preliminaries. These are the circumstances that gave rise to the debate, as near as I can recollect. On Wednesday the eighth, they met, but the day was spent in deciding upon the third moderator, and the opening of the debate. It was finally agreed, that Dr. Joel Owsley should serve, and that Mr. Stamper should open and conclude with a half hour each. Never did I see a set of clergymen, so highly impregnated with the hope of victory, as Mr. Stamper and his brethren appeared to be, at the commencement of the debate. But it was manifest to many, during the first intermission, that their hope of victory was on the decline; and about the close of that day, great discouragement appeared among them; and before the close of the debate, hope seemed entirely to disappear. But to return, — we were then dismissed to meet next morning at nine o'clock. About the time appointed, the parties arrived, and a considerable multitude. Mr. Stamper began, directly introducing Arians and Socinians, alleging, that all anti-Trinitarians properly belong to one or the other of those systems. And after making some quotations in his favor

(as he supposed), his time expired. Mr. Jourdan then arose, and observed to the people, that he wished them to understand distinctly, that he stood on the negative side of the proposition, and that his opponent was bound on the affirmative, according to their preliminaries.

"He also remarked to them, that the Trinity was not the subject of discussion, as his opponent had insinuated, but that it was, whether Jesus Christ was the very and eternal God or not. He then attended to his quotations and arguments, particularly answering him where there was any necessity." — *Christian Messenger*, IV. pp. 116, 117.

Mr. Stamper and his friends, alarmed, it would seem, at the impression which the discussion was making on the audience, were importunate, on the second morning of the debate, that it should close that day, and not be continued to the end of the third day, as originally intended and agreed upon. To this Mr. Jourdan at length consented, "though not more than half through his arguments," being assured by those whom he consulted, that the discussion might be considered as having already gone in his favor.

"In Mr. Jourdan's last discourse, he produced many positive declarations from sacred writ, to prove the soul-cheering fact, that Jesus Christ is truly the Son of the living God. And with all the confidence of divine truth, and in full assurance that he had gained the point in debate, he gave the following challenge to the Methodist clergy:—Proposing to meet any one of them, who would engage to prove the Trinity a Bible doctrine." — *Christian Messenger*, IV. p. 118.

So far as the Western Christians have arrived at definite conceptions of Christ's sonship, they appear to be substantially the same with those advocated by Dr. Worcester in his "*Bible News*"; and their speculations on the Atonement accord still more entirely with those given by the same writer in his work on that subject. It is but justice to add, that in the blamelessness of their lives, in the warmth and earnestness of their piety, and in their zeal for the public good, especially as connected with a general reform in public morals and manners and the extinction of slavery, they are surpassed, considering their means and opportunities, by no denomination.

The Reformed Baptists, or Campbellites, as they are commonly designated by their opponents, are greatly indebted for the consequence into which they have grown, to the in-

defatigable labors of Alexander Campbell, editor of the "Harbinger," and Walter Scott, editor of the "Evangelist"; both natives of Scotland. Mr. Campbell has acquired fame throughout the country, as a public disputant, particularly in the discussions with Walker and McCalla, on infant baptism, and more recently with Robert Owen; on which occasions he is said to have exhibited considerable resources as a scholar, and unequalled promptness and adroitness in managing the debate. As a controversial writer he evinces courage, self-command, a good share of logical acumen, and a playful and biting sarcasm, blemished with occasional coarseness; at times reminding us, in his most felicitous turns, of Robert Robinson. In one of the numbers of the "Harbinger," he recounts the changes which his mind and heart have undergone on the subject of religion; from which it appears that he was brought up a strict Calvinist, and went through, when young, a Calvinistic conversion, reading and devouring the devotional works most popular among the Evangelicals, and studying their learned and doctrinal treatises "as he studied geometry." And yet, he goes on,

"I solemnly say, that, although I was considered, at the age of twenty-four, a much more systematic preacher and text-expositor, than I am now considered, and more accustomed to strew my sermons with scores of texts in proof of every point, I am conscious that I did not understand the New Testament; not a single book of it. Matthew Henry and Thomas Scott were my favorite commentators. I read the whole of Thomas Scott's Commentary in family worship, section by section. I began to read the Scriptures critically. Works of criticism, from Michaelis down to Sharp on the Greek article, were resorted to. While these threw light on many passages, still the book as a whole, the religion of Jesus Christ as a whole, was hid from me. I took the *naked text*, and followed common sense; I read it, subject to the ordinary rules of interpretation, and thus it was it became to me a new book. Then I was called a *natural* man; because I took the *natural rules* of interpretation. Till then I was a *spiritual* man, and a *regenerated* interpreter. But alas! as I learned my Bible I lost my orthodoxy, and from being one of the most evangelical, in the estimation of many, I became the most heretical. I can only say for the spirit which actuated me, that it was a most vehement desire to understand the truth. I did most certainly put the world out of my sight. I cared no more for popularity,

than I did for the shadow which followed my body when the sun shone. I valued truth more than the gold of Ophir, and I sought her with my whole heart, as for hidden treasure. My eye was *single*, as King James's Translators said. I paid no court to the prejudices of the world, and did sacrifice every worldly object to the Bible. This much of my experience and history I deem due to you for the narrative you have given. I would only add, that experience has taught me, that to get a victory over the world, over the love of fame, and to hold in perfect contempt human honor, adulation, and popularity, will do more to make the New Testament intelligible, than all the commentators that ever wrote." — *Millennial Harbinger*, Vol. I. p. 138.

Mr. Campbell came to this country a Presbyterian minister, and officiated for some time in that capacity, until, being convinced of the invalidity of infant baptism, he was himself immersed, and joined the regular Baptists. In this connexion he soon afterwards began the publication of "The Christian Baptist," a monthly journal, and continued it until the completion of the seventh volume in 1829. The strictly Orthodox among his brethren became more and more uneasy under the freedom and fearlessness of his "developments" and "proclamations," as editor of this work; but they were slow openly to impeach or denounce one, whose influence and popularity in the country were so extensive and so well established. The credit or responsibility of being the first to preach the Ancient Gospel and the Ancient Order of Things, does not, it seems, belong to him, but to Mr. Scott, who "made the experiment," as he expresses it, in December, 1827, in the Western Reserve, Ohio. Mr. Campbell, however, from the beginning, appears to have coöperated in the measure, and to have done more by his writings, than all other causes put together, to give it currency and stability. A correspondent of the New York "Baptist Register," unfriendly to the reform, says, in 1829, "Mr. Campbell's paper and their vigorous missionary efforts are making great achievements. It is said that one half of the Baptist churches in Ohio have embraced this sentiment, and become what they call Christian Baptists. It is spreading, like a mighty contagion, through the Western states, wasting Zion in its progress. In Kentucky its desolations are said to be even greater than in Ohio." In one instance, a large Association became infected as one man,

and voted itself extinct as an ecclesiastical body, that it might make room for the restoration of the ancient order and discipline. The innovation found its way, also, into churches of other denominations; and cases are mentioned of Universalist and Methodist ministers, who came over to it, and were immersed for the remission of their sins.

Orthodoxy in alarm flew, as usual, to anathemas, proscriptions, and excommunications; in consequence of which, it is intimated, that not a few, who had been most eager for reform, in societies where they constituted but a small minority, relapsed or temporized. The faithful, however, rallied in considerable numbers, especially in West Virginia, West Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and formed themselves into distinct societies, according to what they conceived to be the primitive constitution of the church; but it should be mentioned, perhaps among their other affinities to "the ancient order of things," that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, were called. Mr. Campbell gives, "as a sample," the following list of churches in the county of Brooke, Virginia, and in the counties adjacent, as they stood in the autumn of 1830.

"Wellsburg, containing about ninety members; Bethany, eighty; the Cove, thirty-five; King's Creek, fifty-three. In the conterminous parts of Pennsylvania; Pittsburg, ninety members; Noblestown, forty-five; Eldersville, thirty-six; Claysville, sixteen; Hickory, thirty-five. In Ohio; Steubenville, thirty; Smithfield, thirty-five; Cadiz, twenty-nine; Grave Creek, Va., thirty-six; Wheeling, just commenced, twelve. None of these are more than thirty-eight miles from Bethany. Some of them within a few months have commenced, and all of them are without any bishop, or public teacher, properly so called. They all meet every Lord's day to break the loaf of blessing, to commemorate the death and resurrection of Jesus, to unite in every part of Christian worship, and to be instructed by the Apostles' teaching, watching over, and edifying one another in love. Of these fourteen congregations, containing together six hundred and twenty-four members, about three hundred and fifty were immersed during the last year, ending August last. In this district of country, not more than three public advocates were employed, and these only occasionally during the year." — *Millennial Harbinger*, Vol. 1. pp. 429, 430.

In point of influence, property, and general intelligence,

it would seem that, as a body, they fall below the Christians, and perhaps the Methodists. This will help, perhaps, to explain the fact, that, notwithstanding their rational and liberal views on most subjects, they have already suffered considerably from the irruptions of fanaticism, and even of a fanaticism so gross and debasing as Mormonism, by which several of the active and leading Reformers on the Reserve were carried away last year. Now that they have become affiliated and more or less amalgamated with the Christian denomination, it is to be hoped and expected that they will adopt the same name. For some time before this union took place, the name of Baptist having become odious, they generally spoke of one another, after the manner of the early believers, as "the disciples," or as the "reformed," or rather as the "reforming brethren," intimating that they looked on the reformation as being only in progress. They rely very much, it is plain, for the explanation of difficult passages in Scripture on Mr. Campbell's "Harbinger," and also on a version of the New Testament, published by him a few years ago, compiled from the translations of Campbell, Macknight, and Doddridge, with amendments of his own, and notes. We regret to say, that the specimens given in the last mentioned work, and elsewhere, of this gentleman's abilities, as a sound and exact biblical critic, have fallen far short of our expectations, and of his reputation and undoubted accomplishments in other respects.

The following table will enable the reader, with a little attention, to understand what is meant by the Ancient Gospel and the Ancient Order of the Church, of which so much is said in the writings of the Reformers.

" ANCIENT GOSPEL.

" Faith, Repentance, Baptism, Remission, Holy Spirit, Resurrection.

1 2 3 4 5 6

1 God, Christ, Holy Spirit, Evidence,

2 Conversion, Reconciliation,

3 Remission, Obedience, Regeneration, Washing, &c.

4 Pardon, N. Covenant, Justification, Adoption, Salvation,

5 Sanctification, Illumination, &c.,

6 Judgment, Eternal Life, Punishment.

" ANCIENT ORDER.

" Government, Worship, Ordinances, Discipline, Man. & Cus. Litera.

1 2 3 4 5 6

1 Officers, Treasury, &c.

- 2 Prayer and Singing, Reading, Ex. Teaching, Preaching,
- 3 Baptism, Lord's Supper, Collection,
- 4 Private, Public and Mixed Offences Examined,
- 5 Hospitality, Holy Kiss, S. Hands, Emb., Wash. Feet,
- 6 Old and New Testament, &c." — *Evangelist*, Vol. I. p. 93.

They hold that the truths of the Gospel, if fairly set before the mind with their evidence, may be and are understood and believed without supernatural aid; and that the effect of these truths on the heart, when thus understood and believed, is to induce repentance and reconciliation. The individual is then in a condition to be immersed; by virtue of which act, and not by virtue of any inward or spiritual change, his sins are remitted, and he is adopted into the family of God. He now becomes, and not before, a subject of the influences of the Holy Spirit, which, however, they do not think operates at the present day, except through the instrumentality of Christian truths and institutions; neither do they appear to have any clear convictions respecting the personality of the Holy Spirit. They believe that the punishment of the wicked, who die impenitent, will be absolutely eternal.

To the question, "Do you consider faith as the simple act of the mind, acknowledging the mere facts of the Gospel, irrespective of any divine agency exerted upon the faculties previously?" Mr. Campbell replies;

"It requires no supernatural agency upon the eye to see any object, if the object be a visible one. It requires no such agency upon the ear to hear any sound, if it be an audible sound. An angel can be seen as easily as a man, if he make himself visible. God can be heard if he speak audibly, without any supernatural agency upon the ear. So we can believe the testimony of God as easily as the testimony of man, if that testimony be presented in a credible manner. I know of no Scripture, of no reason, which makes a supernatural agency upon the senses of man, upon the faculties of man, upon the eye, the ear, the memory, imagination, or judgment of man, necessary to enable him to see, hear, or believe any thing visible, audible, or credible." — *Millennial Harbinger*, Vol. I. p. 356.

Again he says:

"It is hard to say what is commonly meant by 'the Holy Spirit.' But I mean, that not merely a holy temper of mind, but that Holy Spirit which dwelt in Jesus, that Spirit of God

which animates the body of Christ, that promised Spirit which dwells in the church of the living God. This is that spirit of holiness, which is received in consequence of our union with Christ, after we have put on Christ in immersion. As children, after their natural birth, inhale the spirit or air of this world, so the new-born babes, or the regenerated, as soon as born of the water, receive the Spirit which pervades the kingdom into which they are born; and this Spirit is as necessary to their life and comfort, as breath is to the children of this world." — *Millennial Harbinger*, Vol. I. pp. 357, 358.

Once more, on regeneration :

"We then stated the affirmative of the proposition, and showed the different acceptations of the terms *to be born again*. Regeneration having been agreed to be equivalent to being born again, it was immaterial in the discussion which term we used. We then showed what ground was covered in the popular acceptance of the term, and what in the biblical import. In the popular import, regeneration included the quickening, the receiving of the spirit, a change of heart, and being born. In the Scriptural import, it denotes only the act of being born; for the washing of regeneration is contrasted with, or, at least, distinguished from, the renewal of the Holy Spirit. We then spoke of the begetter, the impregnation of the mind by the word of truth, and of the act of being born of water and of spirit as distinct matters. We also noticed the deception practised by our opponents in representing us as including in our usage of the term all their ideas of regeneration, and then in representing us as including all their views in our sense of the act of immersion. Whereas we contended that a child is begotten and made alive before it is born, and that regeneration, in Scripture acceptance, meant neither more nor less than the act of *being born* of water." — *Millennial Harbinger*, Vol. II. p. 118.

The last extract could not be omitted, as attention to the distinctions here made is necessary to a right understanding of what is justly regarded as the distinguishing peculiarity of the Reformers,—immersion for the remission of sins. This they have carried, at least in some instances, so far as to add a clause to the baptismal formulary, saying, "For the remission of thy sins, I immerse thee into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." To do them justice, however, though they make baptism to be regeneration, they do not, high-churchmanlike, make its efficacy, as such, to depend on its regular administration ac-

according to the rubric, no regard being had to the previous exercises and actual state of the recipient's mind. The objection, "You then make every immersed person a child of God, by the very act of immersion; and you represent every person as born of God who is born of water, or immersed," Mr. Campbell obviates, or thinks to obviate thus:

"Provided always, that he has been begotten of God; or, that he has been impregnated by the Gospel. If quickened by the Spirit of God before he is buried in the water, he is born of God, whenever he is born of water; just as every other child is born of its father, when born of its mother. But if he do not believe the Gospel, or, in other words, if he be not quickened by the word, he is not born of God when he is born of water, — he is, to speak after the manner of men, *still-born*." — *Millennial Harbinger, Extra*, p. 29.

He does not suppose that baptism or immersion clothes the believer with a new character, but he does suppose that it introduces him into a new state, and that, being in this new state, he stands in new relations to God, and Christ, and the Holy Spirit, and the promises of the Gospel. By baptism, or immersion, and by this alone, considered as an act of faith, he is introduced into a new state; and being in this state, and because he is in this state, and on this condition only, he has a right to consider himself as "pardoned, justified, reconciled, adopted, and saved." Hence it follows, that all believers, who have not been immersed, as such, for the remission of their sins, are to be numbered among the unregenerate; an inference which Mr. Campbell neither disowns, nor attempts to wink out of sight. "Begotten of God," he says, "they may be; but born of God they cannot be, until born of water." The objection then arises, that, according to Mr. Campbell's principles, none of the unimmersed can be saved. He answers:

"This is, or is not true, according as you understand the term *saved*. If you understand the term as defined in the preceding pages, they are not saved; for the *present* salvation of the gospel is that salvation into which we enter, when we become citizens of the kingdom of God. But whether they may enter into the kingdom of future and eternal glory after the resurrection, is a question much like that question long discussed in the schools; viz. Can infants who have been quickened, but who died before they were born, be saved? We may hope the best, but cannot speak with the certainty

of knowledge. One thing we know, that it is not a difficult matter for believers to be born of water ; and if any of them wilfully neglect or disdain it, we cannot hope for their future and eternal salvation. But we have no authority to speak comfortably to them who will not submit to the government of the Saviour." — *Millennial Harbinger, Extra*, p. 30.

Little as we like this doctrine in theory, we like it still less in its practical applications, judging from accounts like the following, given by Mr. Campbell himself.

"It is one thing to state and prove what the ancient gospel is, and another to make it the instrument of conversion to God. Of this I have made ample experiments. Within the last ten days I have been twice from home ; and, on each occasion, proclaimed the old gospel for the purpose of converting men to God. On these two occasions, *thirty* persons obeyed the gospel, were immersed for the remission of their sins, and translated into the kingdom of God's own Son. Many of these converts had no more intention of obeying the gospel one hour before, than I now have of becoming a Presbyterian. Nor can it be said that they were ignorant and unlearned persons, an easy prey to error, enthusiasts, or weak-minded. They were a fair average of the whole community. They were of both sexes, from eighteen to sixty years of age. Amongst them was one lawyer, one physician, and some of them were in full communion in Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian churches. Some of them had lately been skeptics in all religion, and one of them, on the morning of the day of his conversion, reviled and spoke evil of the ancient gospel. I left these converts rejoicing in God, in their new relation to him, in the pardon of their sins, and in being the adopted sons and daughters of the Lord God Almighty." — *Millennial Harbinger*, Vol. I. p. 366.

Where so much is made to depend on a momentary conviction (or more likely on a momentary feeling mistaken for a momentary conviction), merely because followed by a rite, instituted, as it would seem, for no other purpose than as a symbol of purity, it must lead continually, we are sure, to self-delusion and disappointment, and afterwards to disorders and scandals. It is amazing that a man, like Mr. Campbell, who on other topics affects and really exhibits so much liberality and good sense, should be so strenuous in urging a prejudice which, as far as it goes, argues, in our humble judgment, a lamentable deficiency of both.

One example will suffice of the ancient order of the

church, as understood by the Reformers, given in a letter from Christian County, Kentucky.

"The church at Noah Springs, established some eighteen months or two years ago, upon the New Testament, has greatly increased her members, and is still increasing. Some are added almost every Lord's day. It commenced with twenty-eight members. They now number about ninety. They have done away their monthly Saturday meetings, and now meet every first day of the week. Their order is as follows: After meeting early, say between nine and ten o'clock, they engage in singing hymns of praise to their exalted King. Next, an appropriate prayer is offered by one of the elders or bishops, (for they have four selected from among themselves.) An opportunity is then afforded to any who wish to make a profession of their faith in Jesus as the Messiah. If any come forward upon such profession, they are immersed into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and then they are received into the congregation as fellow-disciples. One of the elders then instructs the congregation from some portion of the holy oracles. Afterwards an exhortation by one of the others is delivered. The deacons then prepare and furnish the table. One of the elders, after singing an appropriate hymn, prays, and then breaks the bread. In like manner the wine is poured; and all who have been legally naturalized, and deport themselves as disciples, are authorized to participate, without regard to any human *theory* or *ism*, to commemorate and show forth the Lord's death. A hymn is then sung, and the brethren greet each other as fellow-disciples, by a shake of the hand, and then retire." — *Millennial Harbinger*, Vol. I. p. 425.

A passion for restoring at once, not only the positive institutions of the New Testament, as left by the Apostles, but the primitive manners and customs, has led some of them to inquire anxiously whether a community of goods, as practised in the church at Jerusalem, is not binding on Christians at the present day, and whether our Saviour's injunction to wash one another's feet, and the ancient mode of salutation, are not of perpetual obligation. Much harm is hardly to be expected, perhaps, from their speculations about "feet-washing," as they quaintly term it; but not so of the first mentioned subject, at a time when so many community projects are afloat among sciolists in political economy, nor yet of the last, as by their own confession "the disciples" have not always found it easy to make the

proper distinction between a "holy kiss," and a "common" one.

The Reformers, though strenuously insisting on the Ancient Gospel and Ancient Order, as they understand them, profess nevertheless, like the Christians, to be irreconcilable foes to sectarianism, and ready at all times to meet their brethren of every name, on the common ground of an honest belief in the Bible. For this reason they contend, that they themselves do not constitute a new sect, and also that they can consistently "fraternize" with Unitarians, Trinitarians, and Universalists, "except as hereinafter excepted." We give Mr. Campbell's words.

"I will now show how they cannot make a sect of us. We will acknowledge all as Christians who acknowledge the gospel facts, and obey Jesus Christ. 'But,' says one, 'will you receive a Unitarian?' 'No; nor a Trinitarian. We will have neither Unitarians nor Trinitarians.' 'How can this be?' 'Systems made Unitarians and Trinitarians. Renounce the system, and you renounce its creatures.'

"But the creatures of other systems now exist, and some of them will come in your way. How will you dispose of them?' I answer, 'We will unmake them.' Again, I am asked, 'How will you unmake them?' I answer, 'By laying no emphasis upon their opinions. What is a Unitarian? One who contends that Jesus Christ is not the Son of God. Such a one has denied the faith, and therefore we reject him.' 'But,' says a Trinitarian, 'many Unitarians acknowledge that Jesus Christ is the Son of God in a sense of their own.' 'Admit it.' Then I ask, 'How do you know they have a sense of their own? Intuitively, or by their words?' 'Not intuitively, but by their words.' 'And what are those words? Are they Bible words? If they are, we cannot object to them; if they are not, we will not hear them, or, what is the same thing, we will not discuss them at all. If he will ascribe to Jesus all Bible attributes, names, works, and worship, we will not fight with him about scholastic words. But if he will not ascribe to him every thing which the first Christians ascribed, and worship and adore him as the first Christians did, we will reject him, not because of his private opinions, but because he refuses to honor Jesus as the first converts did, and withholds from him the titles and honors which God and his Apostles have bestowed upon him.'

"In like manner we will deal with a Trinitarian. If he will ascribe to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, all that the first believers ascribed, and nothing more, we will receive him;

but we will not allow him to apply scholastic and barbarous epithets to the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit. If he will dogmatize and become a factionist, we reject him; not because of his opinions, but because of his attempting to make a faction, or to lord it over God's heritage.

“ ‘And will you receive a Universalist too?’ ‘No; not as a Universalist. If a man, professing Universalist opinions, should apply for admission, we will receive him, if he will consent to use and apply all the Bible phrases in their plain reference to the future state of men and angels. We will not hearken to those questions which gender strifes, nor discuss them at all. If a person say such is his private opinion, let him have it as his private opinion, but lay no stress upon it; and if it be a wrong private opinion, it will die a natural death much sooner than if you attempt to kill it.’ ” — *Millennial Harbinger*, Vol. I. pp. 146, 147.

We are not much impressed with the force of this reasoning; but on such subjects it is chiefly important, doubtless, that a man should be right in his conclusions, however arrived at. We do not complain that it should be made a condition of Christian fellowship, that believers should consent in the use of Scriptural language in regard to disputed doctrines, leaving it for each individual to put that construction on this language which he thinks was intended. There is, however, a fallacy running through several of Mr. Campbell's papers on the distinction between differences respecting opinions, and differences respecting facts, practices, or institutions. Facts, practices, institutions are not opinions, it is true; but doubts may honestly arise, whether these facts, practices, or institutions have any proper or sufficient foundation in the word of God. One man may be of one opinion, and another man may be of another opinion on this question; so that, after all, the controversy will turn on a mere difference and an honest difference of opinion respecting the true import of Scripture, which, by Mr. Campbell's own confession, should present no bar to communion.

The Reformers were slow to connect themselves with the Christians, because the latter were avowedly Unitarians, and rejected the popular notions of atonement, and would not make immersion an express condition of admission to the Lord's table. By friendly conferences and mutual explanations an adjustment of these difficulties was at length effected, early in the present year, between the two denomi-

nations, in the neighbourhood of Lexington and Georgetown, in Kentucky; and there is every reason to expect, that the union and amalgamation, there commenced under the happiest auspices, will pervade the West. Since they have begun to send out their preachers in company, and hold their four days' meetings and their camp-meetings in common, a new impulse has been given to their zeal, and their prospects, it may be safely said, were never more encouraging.

They want books. Without meaning to speak disparagingly of their three periodical publications, neither of which has less than two thousand subscribers, and one is said to have above four thousand, most of the articles they contain are occasional and ephemeral, the topics being selected with a view, not to their relative importance in themselves considered, but to some temporary interest. Mr. Campbell is at this moment employed in preparing a third edition of his version of the New Testament, with large additions and emendations, from which we hope much good; though we regret extremely, that he did not adopt the translation of Gilbert Wakefield, or Archbishop Newcome, instead of a compilation from Campbell, Macknight, and Doddridge, all of them second-rate scholars, as the basis of the work. They also want able and thorough treatises on the evidences of Christianity, and the principles of interpretation, and on ecclesiastical history, which, to their preachers especially, are becoming every day more and more indispensable, if they would prepare themselves to cope successfully with the arguments and cavils of intelligent deists, and the learned of other sects. Sectarian works, of any description, in the bad sense of that term, would not be acceptable; but we are assured that such books as Dr. Worcester's "*Bible News*," and his work on the "*Atoning Sacrifice*," Mr. Noyes's translations of Job and the Psalms, Mr. Gannett's "*Scriptural Interpreter*," and Mr. Ware's "*Formation of the Christian Character*," would be kindly received, and read with avidity.

More than all, they need, and we are glad to learn that they are beginning to be alive to the deficiency, an institution to which their churches may look for a succession of learned, as well as gifted and faithful ministers. The other denominations are wisely straining every nerve and sinew in this direction; and most of them already, not excepting the Catholics, Methodists, or Cumberland Presbyterians, have

their respective colleges or schools in the Western country. It is matter of just surprise and regret, that a body of Christians, whose views on most subjects are so rational and liberal, should be behind the rest in the means of theological education, especially as this alone is wanted to give their preachers a decided advantage, among the intelligent and reflecting, over most of their competitors. We doubt whether the friends of religion in this quarter could do a better service to the great cause of liberal Christianity, than by aiding, if desired, either by the gift of books, or by pecuniary contributions, in the establishment of a theological seminary in the neighbourhood of Lexington or Cincinnati, to be under the entire control of the Christians and Reformers, with the Bible alone for their creed. Though we differ widely from both these denominations on several important points, we cheerfully accord our testimony to their piety, their zeal for Christianity, their love of freedom, and the tendency of their efforts and successes, to countervail the power of irreligion and bigotry in the West.

ART. VI.—*Correspondence between the First Church and the Tabernacle Church in Salem; in which the Duties of Churches are discussed, and the Rights of Conscience vindicated.* Salem. Foote & Brown. 1832. 8vo. pp. 176.

EXCEPT in the relations of social and domestic life, every man is his own master, answerable only to God. If he does injury to those about him, they have a right to set bounds to his freedom; if he thinks injuriously of others, they have no right to restrain him, because his bad feeling injures himself, not them; and God only knows the heart. His feelings are his own; his opinions are his own. If they lead him to actions injurious to his neighbours, they have a right to protect themselves; but his deeds are all they have a right to control. All the right there is to call man to account for his sentiments, is reserved to the Searcher of hearts. It is part of that glory which he will never give to another, be that other who he may, except as a representative of his own person and power.

It is clear, then, that no man can lawfully assume any authority to dictate or judge the sentiments of another. It is part of the sovereignty of God. When man lays claim to any such authority, he interferes with matters wholly beyond his reach. He can no more change the least shade of another man's opinions by fear, control, or power, than he can change the color of the hair of his head. He has no more influence, except by persuasion, over the feelings of another, than he has over the elements of nature. And, whenever he attempts such usurpation, he will find that he has undertaken too much; for what can he do to others? He can trouble and torment them; he can expose them to injury and scorn; he can afflict them in their circumstances. While he can do absolutely nothing with respect to their minds, and is all the while, by his rash and foolish presumption, bringing a weight of guilt upon his own head.

It is clear, also, that no man can give another any authority over his opinions. God has made it the man's own affair: to him we must answer, and we cannot give up the privilege of freedom if we will. Some may think that none would consent to give it up. In this they are mistaken. There are many who would rejoice to give up the privilege of thinking for themselves, — many who, if they could throw off responsibility from themselves, and make others bear it, would agree never to form an independent opinion again. Indeed, there are many who do so now; but so far are they from relieving themselves from responsibility, that they must answer not only for going astray, but for giving others power to lead them astray.

This being the case, then, that no authority over another's opinions or feelings can be assumed by man, nor given by one to another, evidently the right of every man to his own opinions is a great and original right, one which it is shameful to undervalue or surrender. Whoever interferes in the least with human freedom in this respect, is a usurper; whoever takes away this right, is a robber; whoever sets inducements or terrors before men, to prevent the exercise of this right, is disloyal to the King of kings. If ever this right is invaded, we are bound to defend it. No party attachment, no personal affection, should prevent our defending it; and if we lament, as those who have the welfare of their race at heart must, that the peace and order of society

should be broken, so that controversy and disunion fill the places of kindness and love, the blame rests with those who attempt to abridge the right, — not on those who stand fast in the liberty, and stand up for the liberty, wherewith Christ hath made them free.

We propose to say a few words on the subject of charity, because many seem to suppose that it requires Christians to submit to every thing for the sake of peace, and, of course, that able and mild arguments, like the one before us, however gentle and forbearing in their spirit, are no better than violations of the law of love. The remarks which we have made contain certain truths which must be borne in mind whenever the subject of charity is mentioned. In all discussions on the subject, we must remember that the freedom of the mind is a birthright, which we can neither sell nor give away. There are many, whose ideas respecting it are wrong and unworthy, — who think we must look on without saying a word when the rights of the soul are invaded and endangered. We would ask what they would say of that charity to the poor, which gives them what it has no right to give, — for example, what belongs to another? for precisely such is the charity of the man who would give up the great principle of freedom. It is not ours to give; and when we undertake to surrender it, or are not ready and resolute to defend it, we give to Cæsar not what belongs to ourselves, but what belongs to God.

Men often allow the praise of charity to those who do acts of kindness, or profess kindness to others, while, at the same time, they deny them freedom of thought, by imposing penalties upon their convictions. They may call this kindness, generosity, or whatever they will, except charity; for charity is nothing more nor less than allowing others the same privilege which they claim for themselves. Now those who discard others from their communion, for not believing as they do, do not by any means allow others what they claim for themselves. They claim a perfect right to form their own opinions. They allow no one to say to them, "Why do ye so?" They suffer no one to say to them, "Believe as we do, or the doors shall be shut against you;" but they turn round upon others, and say the same thing to them. They may be kind in other matters; but if we call them charitable, we give them a name to which they are

not entitled ; for we see, that they allow us only what we do not want, and deny what we demand, — the right of sitting down at the table of the Lord, wherever that table is spread. We do not ask for their communion ; they may withhold it or not, as they will ; we shall not complain, as we are conscious of no great privation. They may refuse us a place at their own tables if they please ; we can easily submit to the exclusion. But when they undertake to limit the general invitation which our Saviour has given to all Christians to come to his table, they refuse to do to others what they would have others do to them, and assume a power which never was entrusted to human hands. It may be said that they act according to their conscience. We have no doubt of it ; but in our opinion it is not enough for a man to act according to his conscience, without consulting the word of God. St. Paul acted as conscientiously as ever he did in his life, when he shut up the saints in prison ; but this would hardly excuse him when the commands of God, even in the Hebrew Scriptures, might have taught him better. And would any one allow that he was charitable, because he treated them kindly after he had deprived them of their liberty, and put them under lock and bar ? No ; great injuries are not cancelled and atoned by small and easy acts of kindness. He did wrong ; and, when he was afterwards enlightened by Christianity, the thought of what he had done made him call himself the chief of sinners. Conscience is too often the Christian name of passion ; and it is a poor excuse, indeed, for him who denies others their rights, to say he acted conscientiously, when he had before him directions so plain as “*Forbid him not because he followeth not with us,*” — “*To his own master let him stand or fall.*”

Yet there are some who feel as if it were uncharitable to raise a voice in such cases, to plead for the freedom of the mind. “*They treat you kindly,*” it is said ; “*what can you ask for more ?*” Go to some oppressed people, whose civil rights are taken away ; say to them, “*You are well treated ; your persons are not injured ; your property is respected ; what can you ask for more ?*” They will answer, as with the voice of many waters, “*We want that freedom, without which, man can enjoy no other blessing. The high and manly soul is sick without it. God and nature have*

given it, and no human power has a right to take it away." And they will have it; small as the privation seems to many, it will raise a spirit which will break every oppressor's arm, and set the prisoner free. So every Christian is bound to strive for the liberty of the sons of God. So long as a single inducement is held out to any, to stifle and suppress their convictions, — so long as a single penalty, however light, is incurred by those who think and speak for themselves, it is charity to do all in our power to remove the snare. We would not call on others to do this for the sake of a favorite opinion; we would not sound the trumpet to fight the battles of party; but we do say, that, when the freedom of the mind is endangered, every soldier of the cross is bound to take up his spiritual arms; and, till the warfare is accomplished, he has no right to lay them down.

Another mistake on the subject of charity, is to judge from the form rather than the substance, — from what is said rather than what is done; to take for granted that the thing said must be charitable, because the manner in which it is said is gentle and kind. It is true that we do not often find this disparity in the exclusives of the day; it must be allowed that they commonly suit the word to the action. But, wherever it is found, it ought not to blind us to the true question between us and our opposers. Suppose that some Unitarian were to stand forward, and say that no man should enter his church, who did not declare his belief that Christ was inferior to the Father; and he has as much right to do this as any other to do the like, — that is, none at all. Suppose that he should treat others with the utmost kindness, while he shut the door in their faces, lamenting that he could not conscientiously treat them as he himself would choose to be treated. Would any Unitarian be deceived by this parade of kindness, so far as not to perceive the enormous absurdity of the pretension? Would any one say it was uncharitable to complain? On the contrary, such a man would be compelled by his own party to remove the bar. Not a single voice would support him in his usurpation. And if any one is disposed to doubt this, we would ask him to show a solitary case in which an Unitarian has shown the least disposition to exclude others from the table of the Lord. It is charity to the souls of men, to keep the gates as wide open as the great Head of the church has left

them ; and if any one stands in the portal, to keep out those who have a right to enter, it is his own fault if he is trampled down.

We are well aware that certain writers have endeavoured to show, that Unitarians are as exclusive as others ; and they have for this purpose diverted the attention of their readers from the true question, which is, Have Unitarians ever excluded any from the table of the Lord ? That is the place and sign of communion ; and, if any one is kept away from the table of an Unitarian church for his opinions, we allow that he is an injured man. But, as Unitarians are not liable to this charge, they say, "Your preachers refuse to exchange with Universalist preachers, while, at the same time, you complain of the Orthodox for not exchanging with you." This is misstated, and, we believe, misunderstood. When have Unitarians complained of Orthodox preachers for declining to exchange ? Solely in those cases where there was reason to believe that a majority of the Orthodox society desired such intercourse. Such cases were not uncommon a few years ago, though now party lines are more deeply drawn ; the times are unhappily altered. But in cases where — we do not say Unitarians, but the liberal, were few in number, and the consequence of such exchanges would have been ill feeling and disunion, we do not believe that any Unitarian preacher would have sought such exchanges ; and we do know of many who would have refused them. They never claimed it as a right ; they offered the exchange as a matter of courtesy, and regretted that others declined it. They never dreamed of putting this upon the same ground with the communion of the Supper ; for the table is the table of the Lord. He has invited others, and prescribed his own conditions. The place of worship is the property of those who built it ; they have a right to say what person or persons shall address them. We know of no Universalist who wishes to address an audience where a majority would be unwilling to hear him, or who would consent to enter a house of worship against the will of a majority of its owners. If any preacher is not admitted to preach to a Christian audience, it may be called exclusion. But no one complains of exclusion from private property and private hospitality. It is only of exclusion from *the Lord's* table, that the liberal complain ; and, as we have

said, no one can complain that he is excluded from Unitarian communion for his opinions only.

The complaint on the part of Unitarians, that the Orthodox have refused ministerial intercourse, has proceeded from members of societies who felt aggrieved by such refusal ; for in more cases than one, a majority of a society, who bore almost all the burden of supporting religious institutions, have desired to hear Unitarian preachers occasionally, knowing that it would tend to peace, and not to disunion. When this has been denied, and the claims of the many sacrificed to the demands of the exclusive few, — when influence has been exerted, in every possible way, to form and increase an exclusive party, — when those who supported the preacher heard him constantly threatening them with destruction for their own opinions, and denouncing those opinions as crimes, — when this was coupled with the great act of stamping them infidels, by exclusion from the Lord's table, they have certainly complained and resisted, and we trust they will do so again. They complain because they are the sufferers. Unitarian preachers do not complain, because they do not suffer by the denial of this intercourse, though they lament it as part of a mistaken and oppressive system. It would be well, however, for the writers to whom we have alluded, to remember, that if Unitarians pursued this system habitually, it would not make it any better, neither would it relieve them from the reproach of upholding ; it would only show that Unitarians have not sufficient virtue to practise what their consciences approve.

But to return to the subject ; there are always some who think that kindness in words and manner is charity, — no matter what rights are taken away. If any one says to them sternly, "Believe as I do, or you shall never enter the church of Christ," they think him uncharitable ; but if another says the same thing to them in a gentle way, lamenting that he is not at liberty to extend to them the hand of fellowship, lamenting in the most affectionate manner that they are not so holy as he, — there are some who praise his charity, forgetting that he denies them their rights just as much as the other, and that words and manner cannot change the substantial character of the deed. In the same way, when any one comes forward to defend the cause of freedom, encountering insult and reproach in that sa-

cred cause, there are always some who feel as if it were a breach of charity to speak the exact truth, because they know that facts strongly stated, and arguments forcible and convincing, may mortify and give pain to their opposers. This was the case lately, when Professor Stuart threw out a challenge to Unitarians. It was accepted by one who had no pleasure in collecting and stating the facts which the Professor called for, but who, though he entered upon the duty reluctantly, discharged it with ability and success. The result of his labors brought to light so much that was discreditable to religious men, — so much that gave pain to all who cared for the interest and honor of the Christian name, that some felt inclined to wish that he had left the challenge unanswered, and expressed themselves in such a manner, that the Orthodox really thought that he was disavowed by his own party. These persons wished that the facts might be stated, but in such a way as to give no offence, — not considering that the thing was impossible; because, since it was the truth of the charges which, supposing it to be established, was offensive, it was impossible to state them correctly without giving pain. It is true, there were but few who hesitated to sustain the writer alluded to; but the advocates of such a cause should have a unanimous support. The trust is sufficiently undesirable, and certainly should not be thankless also. The writer alluded to opened breaches in the walls of exclusion, which the garrison will probably never be able to repair.

We should always remember, that there is a charity due to the human race, as well as to one or two. By giving up points which we have no right to surrender, we sacrifice the cause of truth to the feelings of a few. Undoubtedly it is always painful to a fair mind to give pain to others; but if there are those who cannot bear to hear you speak your own mind, while they speak theirs as freely as they will, — if there are any who declare that your opinions are false and dangerous, and cannot bear to have you calmly prove that they are not so, it is charity itself, the duty which they violate, that hurts their feelings. He who forces another to strike him in self-defence, can expect but little sympathy when he complains of the hardness of the blow.

We have explained this mistaken charity somewhat at large, because it is the error of conscientious persons, who

wish to be charitable, but know not what the duty requires. Charity requires concession, — they know not how much ; charity forbids some concessions, — they know not where to stop. And thus we not unfrequently see Unitarians, in our villages, excluded from the table of the Lord, laid under the ban of public opinion, never permitted to hear their own views of religion preached, but, on the contrary, condemned every Sabbath to hear doctrines both untrue and unprofitable, and all the while attending public worship, bearing their part of the expense, and making no attempt to excite resistance. Under certain circumstances, this may be well ; but if they carry their charity so far as to excuse the spirit of exclusion, and even condemn those who resist it, they carry it beyond its proper bounds, and it becomes weakness, which does injustice to its friends, for the sake of those who have no claim to such excessive indulgence.

When we ask whence come the violations of charity that break up the peace of the Christian world, there is but one reply : it is from that exclusiveness which censures, punishes, and threatens others for thinking for themselves ; because this exclusiveness is itself a breach of Christian charity. Charity and common justice require men to do to others as they would have others do to them. This is the general rule for the treatment of others. Now no man would be willing that others should condemn and threaten him for his opinions, — that they should exclude him from their churches while living, and threaten him with exclusion from heaven when dead ; no man would be willing to have his offered hand of fellowship insolently rejected. It is evidently, therefore, a breach of charity to treat others in this manner, unless by express authority and command from the great Source of power. It is true there is one case in which this rule for the treatment of others seems not to apply ; — when the judge, pronounces sentence upon the offender, he cannot do to him what he would wish to receive in similar circumstances. The reason, however, is, that he is acting as a judge, and not as a man. As a judge, he is not a free agent ; he represents the society about him, and is bound by the terms of the law. But, though in an official capacity he may not be influenced by compassion, as a man, he must be governed by the same principles with other men, and indulge his feelings as far as his public obligations will allow.

If, then, the exclusive were really authorized to sit in judgment on others, the case would be altered. But where do they get their commission and instructions? Society has no power to invest them with authority, and would not do it if it could. Do they derive it from Jesus Christ? He says, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." Do they derive it from the Apostles? "If any man think that he is Christ's, let him think this again, that as he is Christ's, so also are we." Such is the language of the Apostles. No man can show a line or letter of inspiration, which authorizes him to interfere in the least with the opinions of another; so that the great obligation remains unaffected, in this as in all things else, to do to others as they would have others do to them. Whoever will not do this, has not the charity of the gospel.

Again; no one ever attempted to enforce a system of exclusion without making himself uncharitable, if he was not so when he began; for he might have begun reluctantly, from a mistaken sense of duty. There are persons of kind feeling, no doubt, who exclude others as good as themselves from their churches. We do not impeach their kind feeling; but they would not be willing to have others exclude them from a privilege which they wished to enjoy, and yet this is what they do to others. They will not pretend that they put others on the same ground with themselves; they will repeat that they are not allowed to do it. Here, then, their charity is bounded; up to this limit they will do to others as they would have others do to them; but here their charity is forcibly driven back, and they can no longer obey the great Christian law. Now it is not in the nature of things, that they can do a wrong thing right; the thing, they confess, would be uncharitable, were it not a duty; that is, it is uncharitable, though it is a duty. Truly, such is our nature, that, if a man ever thinks it his duty to be uncharitable, he will perform this duty, if no other, with all his heart. Nothing can be more natural. They assume that every man can believe whatever he wills; they would not think it a subject of censure, if they were not convinced that perverseness alone prevents others from believing with them. It is idle to say that there is any thing criminal in error, unless it is a voluntary thing; and if they believe that others are standing out against the truth, knowing it to be

truth, they cannot feel toward them the charity of the gospel. We must say, that in all the examples of exclusion which we have seen, and they are not a few, we have never seen one who appeared to do much violence to his inclinations in pursuing this course towards others. We have heard them profess to act solely from a sense of duty ; but they certainly went about the performance of this duty with an alacrity, which they did not manifest in others, which were attended to with no such self-constraint. It did appear to us, that, if it gave them as much pain as they imagined, they discharged the obligation with a cheerfulness and self-devotion scarcely inferior to that of martyrs.

Again ; exclusiveness is the cause of uncharitableness, because the denial of any just right naturally excites resentment ; and as no right is more evident than that of freedom, it is natural to feel strongly when oppression would take it away. Every man who loves his race wishes to see the time come when thought shall be perfectly free, and will do all in his power to remove every penalty, every censure, and every bar. What wonder is it if men grow ardent in a good cause ? They say to themselves, "What right have others to exclude me for my opinions, any more than I have to exclude them for theirs ? what reason to think themselves right in their sentiments, more than I to think myself right in mine ? They would consider it wild presumption in me to exclude them because their belief does not suit my taste and fancy : how is it any less presumption in them to do the same to me ?" The more a man reflects upon it, the more unreasonable and revolting does this pretension seem. Oppression makes wise men mad ; charity to the uncharitable is the hardest of duties ; and if a man is thus driven to the wall, though others may wonder that he cares so much for a privilege which they do not value, we shall not be surprised to hear him speaking with severity and strength. No one can presume to judge in a case like this, who does not feel the value of freedom. How many there are, who, when a nation rises to throw off the oppressor's chain, will say that they felt no hardship in their bondage, and wonder that they are willing to suffer so much for the sake of being free. So, when any one pleads the cause of religious freedom, there are those who wonder that he should grow warm in such a cause. They say he is under no actual privation ; why

should he contend for a name? We would try to explain the beauty of the rainbow to the blind, or to make the deaf understand what there is inspiring in the harp or the trumpet, sooner than we would attempt to paint the blessedness of religious freedom to one who holds it in light esteem.

We think that charity requires men to maintain this cause, and it is but a mistaken charity which would, for the sake of peace, give up the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. Charity requires no man to give up his rights, though it calls on many to lay aside their pretensions. We are not speaking the language of party. Illiberality exists among us as well as others. If we had the power to enforce a system of exclusion, it is possible that we might be tempted to do it; though our being guilty of it would not make it the less a sin. We would not answer for any party, human nature being the same in all. Therefore do we say, Deprive all parties of this unlawful power; give no opportunity to any party to abridge the freedom of any other. There is not one in a hundred of the most usurping faction that would, as a man, deprive another of his rights. It is power that tempts them. It is power that might tempt us also. In order to make freedom secure, public opinion must be brought to such a state, that no one shall have the power again to lord it over the heritage of God.

The effects of the exclusive system are such, that every man who feels an interest in human improvement is bound to resist it. It prevents the increase of religious truth and knowledge. For how many are there who are independent enough to examine freely, when their examination may result in a change of sentiment that shall expose them to anger and scorn? There are too many who will acquiesce in the faith of those around them, rather than sacrifice their own peace and comfort for the sake of duty. It is a painful thing to be regarded as a heretic, a disturber of the peace of society; to hear one's self proclaimed an infidel by those who have the public confidence, and not to be able to join in the worship of God without being denounced as an infidel. The joy of an upright conscience is great; but it cannot make man insensible to the desertion of friends, and the cold looks and contemptuous reserve of those with whom he must travel to the tomb. And thus the Scriptures are sealed; for we should be glad to know the difference be-

tween sealing them up, and making it dangerous to open and read them. Men ought to be encouraged to study the Scriptures without fear, and to make known their conclusions without reserve; but where danger attends a departure from the common opinion there is no freedom; — and it ought not so to be.

Charity also requires men to oppose a system which breaks up the charities of social and domestic life. Life will have enough sadness in it at best, and wants encouragement and happiness from the gospel. But by this abuse of Christianity, the peace of communities, churches, and even families, is broken up. You see those, whom God and nature had united, standing apart in sullen disunion from each other. When you inquire the reason, you find that one, confident in his own opinion, had misnamed, slandered, and cast out the other for the offence of differing from him in opinion; while the other, feeling a contempt, but too natural, for such narrow-minded pretension, refused to be driven from the house and table of his Father by those whose authority was no greater than his own. Truly, if strangers to Christianity formed their judgment concerning it from this conduct of Christians, they might, had they no other means of ascertaining its character, be forgiven for rejecting it almost with scorn. But Christianity is not responsible for these things; it has strictly forbidden them; it has enjoined on its disciples, in whatever respects they may chance to differ, to be of one mind and one soul. There is but one heaven in which they can meet; there is but one table where they can sit down with the patriarchs in the kingdom of God. If they have one faith, one baptism, one gospel, one Saviour, and one God, and yet there are any who cannot keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, we must say, that such persons have yet to learn what their religion teaches, and what conduct and character are acceptable to God.

The work which has led us into these remarks proceeded from the First Church in Salem, and was suggested by a correspondence, in which that church was engaged with the Tabernacle Church in the same place. A lady, belonging to the latter, had connected herself with the First Society, and wished to be admitted to Christian privileges; but as she had not the usual recommendation, a committee was ap-

pointed to ask the Tabernacle Church the reasons of their *withholding* it. In reply, the pastor of the Tabernacle Church informed them, that her case was yet under consideration by a committee of that church who had not reported, and that her statement, that she had been *denied* the recommendation, was *at present* incorrect. She had made no such statement; but if she had, we confess ourselves unable to see the momentous difference between denying and withholding, in the case of a testimonial which was commonly given under such circumstances, and which the applicant had a manifest right to demand. After a time, however, he communicated the unanimous vote of the Tabernacle Church not to grant her request for the reasons following: "First, because this church cannot consistently recognise any church as a sister church which, in our judgment, rejects those doctrines that we feel bound to receive as the fundamental doctrines of Christianity; and, secondly, because this church cannot consent to hold fellowship with any church which manifests an entire disregard to the discipline of this church, and which, by readily admitting to its communion those who have been excommunicated by us, virtually declares the disciplinary acts of this church to be null and void." Of this anticlimax of resolutions, the first might have been supposed sufficient. But, seeing such an accusation was brought in the second, the committee of the First Church applied again to know how this disregard had been manifested. They received a reply, sufficiently ungraceful in our opinion, in which they were turned over to the church clerk as "the proper organ of any further communications." They were answered by that officer with a civility, which could have left no doubt on their minds that he was the more proper organ of the two.

It appeared that, on a former occasion, a member of the Tabernacle Church had worshipped for about two years with the First Society, when he applied for a recommendation to the First Church. For various reasons the Tabernacle Church withdrew their fellowship from him, and voted that his connexion with them was thenceforth dissolved. The First Church did not consider this an excommunication, and, finding no sufficient reasons against it, received him into their church as a new member. The committee make it evident that this was not a formal excommunication, ac-

ording to the practice of the churches ; but we cannot say that we should not so have regarded it. We should have thought it an entire excommunication. But the committee make it manifest that the First Church did not view the matter in that light. They considered it a way of releasing him from his connexion with his former associates, which left him free to join another without the inquiries and forms which would have been necessary had he been formally excommunicated. Of course, they had not intentionally violated the courtesy of the churches, nor shown that disregard to the discipline of their neighbouring church with which they were charged.

But suppose they had disregarded the discipline of the Tabernacle Church,—what then? The lady in question did not ask for a recommendation of the First Church ; she asked for a recommendation of herself, a testimonial of her good standing, which, if there was no charge against her conduct, she certainly had a right to demand. She was about leaving the church with which she had been connected. They had no right to ask what other she intended to join ; the only question with them was, whether her conduct had been such, that they could conscientiously say that she was a member in good standing of the church of Christ. If not, then, and then only, they were justified in refusing it. But to make themselves responsible for her religious character after she had left them, to attempt to detain her, or to injure her reputation by withholding the common certificate, was a proceeding which, if they could justify to their own conscience, they cannot answer to God. The truth on this subject is, that there is but one church of our Lord. Whoever makes a Christian profession becomes a member of it by his own act, and may afterwards come to his table wherever he finds it spread. When a member of one company of Christians proposes to join another, it is a friendly act to give him a letter of recommendation. But if this act of courtesy is to be magnified into a momentous transaction, by which the Christian character is to be given or taken away, it is perhaps better to relinquish the practice. Certainly it is not worth while to persevere in applying for such testimonials to churches that refuse them. It is as an act of respect to Orthodox churches that Unitarians have made such applications, not because they supposed the testi-

monials themselves very important. But, since Orthodox churches thus make it a general practice to refuse them, we must of necessity cease to apply, and yet shall be liberally accused, in consequence, of disregarding the order and discipline of the churches. There is something very singular in the present aspect of the Christian world. A part of the Christian family undertake to cast out their brethren from the house and table of their Father. When the excluded ones assert their right to enter, and protest against the act that excludes them, they are held up to public indignation as disturbers of the peace and order of the Christian world.

The great difficulty is, that the Orthodox consider churches as corporate bodies, enjoying certain rights, immunities, and privileges, which are not granted to others, and having power to choose their own successors, which implies the power of exclusion, which they exercise with no sparing hand. It seems to us that no view can be more unreasonable; and it finds not one word of support from Scripture, corrupted and perverted as it often is to suit the purposes of delusion. Robert Hall, as quoted in the book before us, states the duty of churches with his usual clearness and precision. "The duty of churches originates in that of the individuals of which they consist; so that when we have ascertained the sentiments and principles that ought to govern the Christian in his private capacity, we possess the standard to which the practice of churches should be uniformly adjusted." Nothing can be more true; and perhaps, when stated in the form of a general principle, no one would be bold enough to contradict it. But it is well known, that nations profess to recognise the same principles in their intercourse with each other. The misfortune is, that power makes laws for itself, and affixes the name of justice to any deeds of violence and injury which it chooses to perform. Churches have been likewise tempted by power to establish systems and perform deeds in their collective capacity, which the individuals of their number, in whom the moral sense is not completely drowned in party spirit, would have blushed and trembled to avow. Does any one believe that an individual does right, or is bound, to separate himself from a friend who differs from him in opinion? Does any one allow, that an individual has power to stand in the gate, and drive away whom he will from the table of the Lord?

Does any feel as if an individual had authority to judge the world, assigning himself and his friends to heaven, and those who do not think as he does, to destruction? If such pretensions are regarded as proofs of weakness and folly in individuals, we do not know why they should be more respectable in churches, or any more likely to be affirmed on high.

The work before us, beside discussing the rights and duties of churches, contains a distinct and powerful statement of the principles of religious freedom. As it is directly addressed to an Orthodox church, the writer has established his positions by passages from Orthodox divines. It was a happy thought thus to appeal to them, in the words of those whom they have been used to reverence, and to make them feel, that to profess respect for the memory of great men is one thing, and to follow their example is another. It is delightful to see, that men, like those quoted in the work before us, who were in the habit of thinking clearly on religious subjects, saw these questions in the same light that we do; regarding it as the right and duty of every Christian to make up his own mind, and protesting against all measures which tended to control, abridge, or take away that power. We firmly believe, that there is not a society of Christians in the world, who would pursue intolerant systems, if left to themselves. It is only by constant exertion that they can be kept in a state of vassalage, and made the slaves of party. It is by the authority of leading men that they are thus subdued. If they can once be made to see, that the truly great men of their own sect, and every other, have detested this narrow and exclusive spirit, it will aid them to throw off a bondage, from which they will rejoice to be free.

We give the following as a single specimen of the calm and powerful reasoning in the correspondence.

“ You glory, equally with us, in the name and character of Protestants. And what are the obligations implied by this? Are you not bound to allow us the same right and privilege, which you claim, of searching the Scriptures, and ascertaining for ourselves the truth of Christian doctrines, be they fundamental or not? Are you not bound to treat us as being accountable, not to you, but, in common with you, to our final judge, for the manner in which we discharge this duty? How then can you presume to judge and condemn us, for being led

by our inquiries to differ in opinion from you, upon this momentous subject? It may not be possible for us, you must be aware, to avoid this, without unfaithfulness to conscience and to God. And will you pretend that a conscientious adherence to his unerring word, as the standard of faith and duty, can justly expose us to your condemnation? Will you say, as others have said, that your conscience requires you to denounce those whose religious opinions you consider as essentially wrong, and consequently proceeding from a perverse interpretation of Scripture?

“But who made you judges of your brethren in the interpretation of Scripture? Is not this an assumption of infallibility? ‘All that infallibility,’ says Robert Hall, ‘which the church of Rome pretends to, is the right of placing her interpretation of Scripture on a level with the word of God; she professes to promulgate no new revelation, but solely to render her sense of it binding.’ While you are content to enjoy your interpretation of Scripture in the regulation of your own faith and practice, and accord the same to others, you act a truly Protestant part; but when, not satisfied with this, you insist upon forcing your interpretations upon the conscience of your brethren, and treat them as though they avowedly contradicted Christ and his Apostles, that moment you assume infallibility, and become aggressors. We have shown you, from an inspired Apostle, what are the true rights of conscience in such cases. According to the rule laid down by him, you may claim every indulgence for your own conscientious opinions, though they should be erroneous; but not the least favor, when you deny the same indulgence to your brethren, and proceed to denounce them for opinions or interpretations of Scripture, which may be equally conscientious with your own. To do this is not a right of the conscience, but a wrong of the will. In the language of the author just quoted, ‘it is not a defensive, but an offensive measure; it is not an assertion of Christian liberty by resisting encroachment, but is itself a violent encroachment on the freedom of others.’ Is it not, indeed, that rash, uncharitable, sinful judging of others, the very offence so pointedly condemned by our Saviour and his Apostles? And must not the commission of this great offence, like that of every other sin, be at the peril of those who are guilty of it?” — pp. 81, 82.

It is auspicious to the cause of Christian freedom to find men, like the author of this work, coming forward as its advocates, not leaving such discussions to the clergy alone, but giving a practical proof to the world, that they think the

interests of liberality worth defending. The difficulty is not, that our thorough-bred scholars, learned jurists, and accomplished writers are opposed to the cause; on the contrary, they are generally interested in it, and desirous to behold its success; but from aversion to controversy, or a fancied unfitness for such pursuits, they are apt to give a silent vote in favor of liberality, when they might do much more to advance it. We feel grateful to this person and others of their number, for the fine example of interest and exertion which they have given; for if any thing can reconcile us to these invasions of the right of private judgment, it is the assurance which we have here, that the right will be ably and successfully defended.

It gives us great pleasure to insert the following communication from Dr. Carpenter, of Bristol, England, respecting our review of "A Harmony of the Gospels," on his plan, published in the Number for July, 1831. No one is better fitted than himself, to elucidate this difficult and important subject; and the character of these remarks leads us to expect high satisfaction from the Harmony which he has long been preparing, and is about to publish.

THE EDITORS.

Bristol, 26th April, 1832.

To the Editors of the Christian Examiner.

GENTLEMEN,

IF it be not inconsistent with the plan of your truly valuable and interesting publication, I would gladly offer a few remarks to your readers, in reference to the review of the "Harmony," lately published at Boston, inserted in your Number for July, 1831.

It gave me great satisfaction to see the system of arrangement which, I doubt not, will, in the main, be one day prevalent, so promoted, as it must be, by the beautifully executed volume to which I have referred; and I am happy in the aid and coöperation of the able and respected friend who has honored me by the construction of the "Harmony." It was not known to him, and indeed could not have been, that I had myself had the object in view for many years; and that, after having repeatedly read the Gospels with a

specific view to the arrangement of them in the order of time, I had constructed a Harmony, according with the principles of arrangement stated in my "New Testament Geography." This I have several times reviewed with great care, and with (I think) no other desire than to render it as accordant as possible with reality; and a recent examination of it, and of the phenomena of the Gospels individually (to which I have been led by the consideration of Mr. Greswell's "Harmony" and "Dissertations"), has given me the opportunity of more critically weighing objections that might be urged against it, and of making it, in several points, more satisfactory to my own mind. It is my hope that, during the ensuing year, I may carry into execution the printing of my "Harmony"; and I shall be particularly obliged to the learned editor of the Boston "Harmony," and to its Reviewer, as well as to any other of your critical friends, for additional observations.

The Reviewer (p. 381) considers it as a great difficulty on my arrangement, that so short a time is allowed between our Lord's setting out from Capernaum, after the miracle of the Five Thousand and the miracle of the Four Thousand; and observes, that I do not appear to have made any allowance for the "three days," mentioned by St. Matthew. (See ch. xv. 29-32.) Perhaps too little time has been allowed; but to rectify this error (if it be one), the date assigned to the feeding of the Five Thousand, which, of course, is in some degree arbitrary, may be placed three days further back. All that is required is, that it shall accord sufficiently with the statement of St. John (ch. vi. 4), "The passover was nigh."

It will, I think, greatly obviate the difficulty felt by the Reviewer, in respect to the rapidity of our Lord's movements at that period, to consider that Herod was then at his capital in the south of Galilee, and that our Lord obviously desired to avoid his insidious designs. For this purpose he spent his time principally in Upper Galilee, or in the dominions of Philip; and, except when he was in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi, or on the northeastern side of the lake, he does not appear to have ever remained at rest. We learn from John vii. 1, which should have been connected with the sixth chapter, that, after the miracle of the Five Thousand, our Lord would not go into Judea, because the Jews were seeking to kill him.

The Reviewer seems to regard the supposition that three great national festivals occurred between that miracle and the crucifixion passover, as attended with less difficulty than that arising from the short interval I suppose to have occurred between the miracle and our Lord's finally leaving Galilee. It appears to me probable, that, when he has considered the matter more in detail, he may agree with me, that the former supposition is not reconcilable with the phenomena of the Gospels, — taken, as of course it will be by all, in connexion with the position that one of those festivals is the Feast of Tabernacles, the records of which are found in the portion of St. John's Gospel, beginning with Chapter vii. 2, and ending with Chapter x, 21. Undoubtedly the transactions, which I refer to that short interval, may be made to spread over a longer period; but there is nothing in the history itself which requires, at most, a week in addition to the time I have assigned to it; and the following considerations support my hypothesis, if they do not, taken together, absolutely refute every other.

(1.) The train of the history, in the first three Gospels, shows, that the miracle of the Five Thousand occurred not long before the Transfiguration; and this certainly took place when our Lord's departure was at hand. (See Luke ix. 31.)

(2.) Our Lord's discourse after the miracle, recorded by St. John alone, has, in some parts (see Chapter vi. 51 – 56), that species of reference to his death, which implies its near approach.

(3.) At the close of the chapter the Evangelist says, that Judas Iscariot was about (*ᾗμελλεν*) to betray him; which expression surely cannot be referred to an event more than a year distant.

(4.) Our Lord's reference, in John vii. 19 – 23, to his miracle at the pool of Bethesda, and the purpose of the rulers to take away his life, is not consistent with the supposition of so long an interval having elapsed as sixteen or eighteen months, which is required by the hypothesis of four Passovers in our Lord's ministry, and even by that of three.

(5.) The miracle of the Five Thousand, and the grand series of public miracles recorded in each of the first three Gospels as having preceded it, could not have occurred be-

fore the representations of our Lord's kinsmen, previous to the Tabernacles, recorded in John vii. 3, 4.

Those of your readers, who have paid much attention to the arrangement on which the Boston "Harmony" is founded, and to the phenomena of the Gospels in connexion with them, will probably have noticed in the "Monthly Repository" of last year, a series of observations, which may throw some light on the subjects in discussion. But without specific reference to those observations, I would take the opportunity of stating the following particulars, in which a renewed and close examination has modified my views as to the phenomena of the Gospels and the system of arrangement.

1. I should consider St. Luke's *Gnomology* (or, as it may in some sense be termed, the Records of the Seventy), as beginning with Chapter x. 1, and ending with Chapter xvii. 11. I think this limitation of importance; explaining the character of this portion of the Gospel much better than Bishop Marsh's more extended limits, and also the cause of its being inserted where it is.

2. To the three essential principles of the arrangement, — viz. that the ministry of Christ included only two Passovers, that the miracle of the Five Thousand was not long before the second Passover, and that St. Matthew's order should be made the general guide, — I would add, as a subsidiary principle, that no portion should be separated from its connexion in the particular Gospel where it is found, unless the separation be required by the ascertained, or at least very probable, order of time.

3. Those of the discourses and miracles recorded in St. Luke's *Gnomology*, which are not clearly referable to a specific time, I would insert, as a miscellaneous portion, where St. Luke himself has placed them, viz. immediately after our Lord's setting out from Galilee.

I am, Gentlemen,
with respectful regard,
yours truly,

LANT CARPENTER.

- ART. VIII. — 1. *The Well-spent Hour*. Third edition corrected and enlarged. Boston. Carter & Hendee. 1832. 18mo. pp. 160.
2. *Sequel to "The Well-spent Hour"; or the Birth-Day*. Boston. Carter & Hendee. 1832. 18mo. pp. 154.

THOSE were very well-spent hours, which were employed in writing these pleasant and useful books for the benefit of our young people. We have seen no works of the kind which have pleased us more, and few which have pleased us so much. We have done what reviewers seldom do, whatever they may pretend, — we have honestly read them through, and not from a sense of duty, but simply because we could not help it. After we had begun, we found that we were obliged to go on till we came to the end. They reminded us constantly of Miss Edgeworth. The same lively and instructive conversation; the same strong interest independent of any great variety of incident; the same knowledge of nature, of human nature, and of children's nature; the same good sense and right feeling, which mark the works of that benefactress of youth, are stamped on these volumes. They reminded us, too, of Miss Edgeworth's great defect, or deficiency, not by resemblance, however, but by contrast. Religious principle is inculcated in them, easily, naturally, without the least sign of stiffness or awkwardness. A cheerful, practical, every-day piety, shines through them like light, touching, warming, and gilding every thing. Christian hope, faith, trust, and love are here, in their true and engaging forms. And we do insist that it is right and exceedingly beneficial to cultivate religious feeling, and sow the elements of religious knowledge in the hearts and minds of children, tenderly and judiciously, and connect religion with all they love and ought to love, with all they value and ought to value. We believe the instances not to be rare, in which individuals have been saved from spiritual ruin by a few sacred truths, which they had learnt in their early and innocent days.

The first of the little volumes now before us, "*The Well-spent Hour*," has been for some time before the public, and has met with a part, at least, of the favor it deserves. The "*Sequel*" is equally worthy of a kind reception, and we trust will secure it. The history of the Nelson family is

carried on in it, after an interval of four years, without any diminution of interest or ability.

For the satisfaction of those who may not have seen either of these volumes, we will present a specimen or two from their pages. As the first chapter explains the title of the work, we will commence with that. It is headed "*Piety at Home.*"

" 'Mother, I am tired of reading ; can't you tell me of something to do ? ' said Kitty Nelson, one day, as she stretched herself out, and gaped, as if she were weary. ' Yes, my dear, ' said her mother, ' you may hem this handkerchief, or you may pick up these shreds. ' ' Oh, ' said the little girl, ' but that would be tiresome, and I want something pleasing to do ; you know you told me I might do what I pleased in the vacation, if I did nothing wrong. ' ' True, my dear, but I told you I did not believe you would be happy, when idle, and advised you to employ yourself ; but left you at liberty to choose for yourself. '

" ' But, mother, can't you think of any thing pleasant for me to do ? ' ' Can you tell me any thing of the sermon that we heard yesterday ? ' said her mother. ' I remember the text, I think, ' said Kitty. ' What was it, my dear ? ' ' It was, " Let them show their piety at home. " What is piety, mother ? ' ' Piety, my dear, is love and obedience to God ; it is a desire to please him, and a continual and grateful remembrance of all his kindness to us, and a fear of offending such great goodness. Do you remember any thing that the preacher said about it ? ' ' He spoke about spending one hour well ; I did not understand all, but I did a great deal of what he said, and it made me think of what I could do in an hour. ' ' Well, Kitty, what could you do in an hour ? ' ' Do you mean, mother, how many of my lessons I could learn in an hour ? ' ' No ; but if you had no lessons to get, as now ; for instance, and wanted to spend an hour well, what good could you do ? ' ' I am sure, mother, I don't know. If I were to sew an hour, I could not do much ; and besides, Roxy does all your sewing ; and there is some one to do all the other work in the house ; there is nothing for me to do. '

" ' But is there no other way of doing good that you can think of ? ' said her mother ; ' do I never do you good except when I make you clothes, or give you food ? ' ' Oh yes, mother ; you teach me, and you make me happy. ' — ' And cannot you make any one happy ? ' Here Kitty hesitated. ' Sometimes, mother, when I am good and industrious, you say I make you and father happy. ' — ' Is there no one else you can make happy, or

unhappy, my dear?' 'Yes, mother, I can make James and Lucy happy, and sometimes I make them unhappy; and I am afraid I troubled Lucy this morning.' 'And could you not make her happy again?' 'Oh yes, mother, I think I could.' 'Then, my dear, you have something to do. If we are really anxious to do good, we shall find opportunities enough.' 'Shall I go to Lucy now, mother? I left her crying up stairs.'

"Stop, one minute, my dear; I have something to propose to you; suppose you try this one hour, and see how much good you can do in it? It is now twelve o'clock; when the bell rings one, come and tell me whether you have found any thing to do, and whether you have been happy: should you like to try?' 'Yes, mother, I should,' said Kitty; 'but I am afraid I cannot do much in one hour.' 'Well, my dear,' said her mother, 'you cannot better begin the hour than by going to little Lucy, and trying to make her happy.'

"Kitty was a sensible, thoughtful girl; she sometimes did wrong, but she was soon sorry for it, and tried to do better; she walked slowly out of the room, thinking what good she could possibly do in an hour. By the time she had shut the door, she thought again of Lucy, to whom she had been so disobliging, and skipped up stairs to make up with her first, before she did any thing else." pp. 1. - 4.

The little girl "makes up" with her sister and does some work for her, helps her brother in his lesson, visits a poor old woman, reads to her, and then comes home, at the end of her "well-spent hour," with a heart full of happiness and gratitude.

"They reached home just as it struck one, with fine rosy cheeks, and light and happy hearts, and found their mother in the nursery. 'Well, my daughter,' said she, 'how has the hour been passed? have you done any good? have you been happy?' 'Oh, very happy,' said Kitty; 'Mrs. Welles says we have done her good.' 'And what else have you done, my dear?' Kitty then told her of every thing she had done during the hour. 'So,' said her mother, 'you have made Lucy and James and poor Mrs. Welles all happy, and been happy yourself, and made your mother happy too, my child.' 'And me,' said her aunt. 'And you have done all this,' continued her mother, 'by thinking of the happiness of others, rather than of your own; and you have done it in one hour; and now you know what a well-spent hour means. — But there is some one else whom you cannot see, but who has witnessed and who approves of what you have done; who do you think it is?'

‘It is God, mother, for you have told me that he sees me always.’
‘Yes, my dear, and it is by doing your duty, as you have for this last hour, with a hearty desire to please him, that you can show piety at home.’

“Kitty understood what her mother said, and felt very happy, though she said nothing more; for when she thought that such a little girl as she was, had pleased Almighty God, her heart was too full to speak, and she did not know how to express what she felt. She sat down by the side of her mother, and finished the doll’s gown, and she spent the remainder of the day as she had that one hour; for she found she was so much happier thinking of others, and trying to do good, that nothing that day could have tempted her to be selfish and disobliging; and often afterwards, when she was older, and was in danger of doing wrong, the recollection of the happiness of this one well-spent hour has encouraged her and given her strength to do right; and from that hour she began to show piety at home.” pp. 7-9.

The writer renews her acquaintance with her readers, in the first chapter of the “Sequel” in the following manner.

“It is four years since I gave my young readers an account of some of the well-spent hours of Catherine Nelson. Whoever read that little book at that time, must now be four years older. To some the scene of existence has changed; but we believe they still live; they have left this world of time, and entered upon a life that has no end. They now know, better than any of us, the true value of a well-spent hour, the unspeakable blessing of a well-spent life.

“There will be few of those who read this little volume, who, during the last four years, have not parted on the way with some companion and friend whom they loved. They have thus had the means of forming a juster estimation of the true value of life, of learning the great truth, that the length of our lives is not the thing we should be anxious about, but simply the manner in which we live; that an innocent heart, a knowledge of the character of Jesus, a holy trust in God, can make the death-bed a peaceful and even a cheerful and happy place, not only to the youthful spirit that is entering the immediate presence of its heavenly Father, but to the sorrowing friends whom it leaves behind.

“It is a serious thought to us all, that we are four years older; and I feel as if the sort of acquaintance my readers have made with me authorizes me to say a few words upon the thoughts awakened by this recollection. Let us sit down, and talk, and think, and reason together. You are young, and I am compar-

atively old ; but we must all ask ourselves the same questions : Have we, during this time, acquired as much knowledge as we have had the means of acquiring ; as much knowledge of God, of his glorious works, of his holy will, as we could obtain ? as much knowledge of Jesus and of his divine instructions, as much knowledge of our own particular duties, as much knowledge of our own hearts and characters, of our own faults, of our own powers, of the means of doing good to others, of their wants and of their rights ? ” pp. 1, 2.

After a page or two in the same serious style, and an exhortation to those who may have wasted or misspent their hours and years, to begin a life of duty without delay, the chapter thus beautifully concludes.

“ There is in such a resolution, and in the life it would lead to, nothing of gloom ; on the contrary, the heartfelt satisfaction it will yield, will shed a new glory upon the whole visible world, give a new relish to every innocent pleasure.

‘ It is content of heart
Gives nature power to please ;
The mind that feels no smart
Enlivens all it sees ;

‘ Can make a wintry sky
Seem bright as smiling May,
And evening’s closing eye
As peep of early day.’

“ The thought expressed in these lines of Cowper, which I learned and loved when I was a child, and have so often repeated, reminds me of a very little boy, whose mother, being much occupied in the day, is in the habit of devoting an hour in the evening, just before his bed-time, to his particular amusement. Often when he asks for some attention which the want of time makes it necessary to refuse him, he says, with the assurance that it will then be granted, ‘ When evening come ’ ; and when he sees the darkness approaching, he claps his hands and says, ‘ Now evening come ’ ; and I cannot but think how often his mother’s heart must pray that the evening hour will be thus ever joyful to him, and that he may so spend his day of life, that when its sun has set, and its last shadows close in around him, and he sees only the unknown stars of another world, his spirit may rejoice and cry out with gladness, ‘ Now evening come ! ’

“ But I think I hear the young friends whom in imagination I am talking with, say in their hearts, ‘ But we want to hear about Catherine Nelson, her brother James, little Lucy, and

her cousin Julia. They are also four years older ; what has happened to them ? How will they answer these hard questions that we have been putting to ourselves ? Have they all grown wiser and better ? Has Julia cured her pettishness and selfishness ? Is Catherine as good as she was ? And Nancy Leonard, what of her and her sick mother ? — Come, let us hear about them all.' As I must acknowledge I have tried your patience with something like a sermon, I will, without any further preface, tell you all that is to be told about Catherine Nelson and her friends ; and let you judge for yourselves how lasting were the effects of her well-spent hours." pp. 5, 6.

These volumes have our hearty benediction. We cheerfully and sincerely recommend them to parents and all the friends of children, as books which they may select without fear of disappointment. They are so good, that we wish the three engravings which accompany them had been better. It is no compliment to the taste of children, and certainly of no advantage to it, to salute their eyes with such poor apologies for pictures as these.

ART. IX. — *Annual Reports of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States.* Nos. 7—15. Washington, D. C.

THE Colonization Society has assumed a character, and attained a position, which fairly justify its claim to the consideration of the public. We shall preface the suggestion of some of what we deem the principal arguments in its favor, with a summary outline of its progress for the last few years, and of its present condition.

The Society, during its career of eighteen years, has sent out to Africa twenty-three expeditions of emigrants ; the majority of which have gone within three or four years, and six of them during one season. Of the whole number of persons, six hundred and thirteen were slaves manumitted for the purpose of being colonized. Still another class of the colonial population consists of between three and four hundred Africans, recaptured under those laws which prohibit their im-

portation into this country ; and who, having thus fallen into the hands of the national or state governments, have, with their consent, and generally at their charge, been transported and colonized by the Society. The census of the eight or ten settlements which the colony comprises, including all those classes, is not far from three thousand. The earliest of them, it should be observed, has been in existence only ten years, Montserado having been purchased in December, 1821, and settled in June of the next season.

In the Fourteenth Report of the Society, we are informed, that the territory, to which they have given the general name of Liberia, extends from Gallinas river north to Kroo Settra south, being a distance of two hundred and eighty miles along the coast, with a collateral extent inland, which is left indefinite in some cases, but is no where less than twenty or thirty miles. At about the latter distance is a belt of dense and almost impassable forest, which is nearly parallel with the line of the coast ; and which, being one or two days' journey in breadth, has heretofore almost entirely prevented intercourse, both between the interior and maritime tribes of natives, and between the former and foreign nations. The African population, more or less within the Colonial jurisdiction, is about one hundred and fifty thousand. All this territory has been purchased of the native chiefs ; and two considerable and valuable portions of it, Cape Mount and Grand Bassa, within a few months. The former is upon the shore of a large lake formed by the confluence of several rivers, affording great facilities for inland navigation and trade. The amount of African produce exported annually from this neighbourhood is estimated at more than sixty thousand dollars, and must necessarily admit of great increase under the management of a peaceable and civilized foreign nation.

Grand Bassa, which is about as far south of the principal settlement, Monrovia (at Cape Mesurado), as Cape Mount is north, is intersected by a river easily and safely accessible to vessels of one hundred tons. Between this and Monrovia is the Junk river, which is more than fifty miles long. The whole course of it has been examined during the last season, and the country on both sides is found to be beautifully diversified. The soil here, as well as very generally throughout the colony, is a deep, rich

vegetable mould, covered occasionally with majestic forests, abounding in valuable ship-timber, and full of situations suitable for agricultural settlements. The river St. Paul's, a few miles north of Monrovia, is half a mile wide at the mouth, and supposed to have a course of two or three hundred miles. There are two flourishing settlements upon it, and one or two between it and Monrovia, all which are united by a cross stream called Stockton Creek. The land was described by the colonial agent, Dr. Randall, as equal, in every respect, to the best upon the southern rivers in the United States.

As to the animals and productions of this territory, the domestic class of the former are nearly the same with those of this country, and are raised in great numbers. The rivers and streams furnish an inexhaustible supply of fish, and the forests are filled with game, in the usual abundance of well-situated and well-watered tropical districts. The fruits are plantains, bananas, vines, lemons, oranges, tamarinds, mangoes, prunes, guavas, pine-apples, grapes, cherries, and others; the roots, sweet potatoes, cassada, yams, cocoa, every variety of beans and peas, cucumbers and melons, pumpkins, &c. Sugar, coffee, and indigo grow wild; and rice, Indian and Guinea corn, millet, and pepper are cultivated with ease, and yield plentiful returns. The Liberian coffee, in particular, is well known by many in this country to be of the first quality; and as the colonists are beginning to turn their attention more steadily to agriculture than heretofore, and the managers have recently made arrangements for an experimental establishment to be devoted wholly to the cultivation of this article, there can be little doubt of its soon becoming a staple.

The agriculture of the colony leads us to speak of its chief rival, the trade, which has been almost too profitable individually, to be at all so to the settlement at large. A considerable number of small vessels are owned by the colonists, and are actively engaged at and about the various trading factories along the coast, and in supplying the natives resident on the rivers and streams. The commerce consists of an exchange of American and English imported articles, for African dyewoods, ivory, hides, gold, palm-oil, and rice. The net profits on the two first-mentioned alone, from January to June, 1826, were thirty thousand seven hun-

dred and eighty-six dollars. In 1829, the African products exported amounted to twice that sum; last year, to eighty-eight thousand nine hundred and eleven dollars. On the whole, there is some reason for the friends of the colony to rejoice, that the eagerness with which the settlers have rushed into this business, rather to the disparagement of more stable interests, is likely to be speedily checked, not only by the prudent system of allotment recently adopted, but by the effects of the prosperity of trade itself, — the more than sufficient foreign importation, and the increased competition at home.

The system of government, exercised by the Society, is no doubt familiar to our readers. It is already mostly in the hands of the settlers, and will no doubt be so altogether at some future time, when circumstances may render it proper. We shall complete the summary we have undertaken by the addition of a few extracts from letters of various highly respectable and impartial persons, who have visited the colony within a year or two past. Captain Sherman, of Philadelphia, under date of May, 1830, speaks thus of the chief settlement:

“Monrovia, at present, consists of about ninety dwelling houses and stores, two houses for public worship, and a courthouse. Many of the dwellings are handsome and convenient, and all of them comfortable. The plot of the town is cleared more than a mile square, elevated about seventy feet above the level of the sea, and contains seven hundred inhabitants. The streets are generally one hundred feet wide, and, like those of our good city, intersect each other at right angles.

“The court holds its sessions on the first Monday in every month; juries are empannelled as with us; and its jurisdiction extends over the whole colony. The trials are, principally, for larceny, and the criminals are generally natives, who commit thefts in the settlements. A few instances of kidnapping have occurred; these depredations were committed on the recaptured Africans. To the honor of the emigrants be it mentioned, that but five of their number have been committed for stealing or misdemeanor, since 1827.

“There is much hospitality to be found in Monrovia, and among the inhabitants a greater proportion of moral and religious characters than in this city. I never saw a man intoxicated, nor heard any profane swearing, during the three weeks I was among them.

"The two houses for religious worship, are Baptist and Methodist. The Baptists have three, and the Methodists five preachers, all intelligent colored men, merchants and traders residing among them; so that the people have nothing to pay for the support of ministers. Five German missionaries, some ministers and teachers, reside there, a portion of whom preach at the Methodist church occasionally." — Carey's *Letters on the Colonization Society*, p. 22.

The letter of Captain Abels, of Maryland, which has been generally circulated in the newspapers, was written but a few months since. He observes :

"All my expectations, in regard to the aspect of things, the health, harmony, order, contentment, industry, and general prosperity of the settlers, were more than realized. There are about two hundred buildings in the town of Monrovia, extending along the Cape Montserado, not far from a mile and a quarter. Most of these are good, substantial houses and stores (the first story of many of them being of stone), and some of them handsome, spacious, painted, and with Venetian blinds. Nothing struck me as more remarkable, than the great superiority, in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress, and general appearance, in every respect, of the people over their colored brethren in America. So much was I pleased with what I saw, that I observed to the people, should I make a true report, it would hardly be credited in the United States. Among all that I conversed with, I did not find a discontented person, or hear one express a desire to return to America. I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered by any one. Being a minister of the gospel, on Christmas day I preached both in the Methodist and Baptist church, to full and attentive congregations, of from three to four hundred persons in each. I know of no place where the Sabbath appears to be more respected than in Monrovia." — *Letters on the Colonization Society*, p. 24.

Captain Kennedy, of the United States' ship Java, wrote about a year since. We shall cite only a passage of his testimony upon one point :

"It may not be improper to observe, in the outset, that my inquiries were commenced under auspices very unfavorable to the practicability of the scheme of your Society; for while, I trust, I yielded unfeigned acknowledgment of the piety and purity of purpose which governed its worthy and disinterested projectors, yet the vast difficulties attending the prosecution of their labors, and the very problematical results, in the want of

success, left an impression upon my mind, altogether unfavorable to the institution. Under these impressions, therefore, I commenced my inquiry with great caution. I sought out the most shrewd and intelligent of the colonists, many of whom were personally known to me, and by long and weary conversations, endeavoured to elicit from them any dissatisfaction with their condition (if such existed), or any latent design to return to their native country. Neither of these did I observe. On the contrary, I thought I could perceive, that they considered that they had started into a new existence; that, disencumbered of the mortifying relations in which they formerly stood in society, they felt themselves proud of their attitude, and seemed conscious, that, while they were the founders of a new empire, they were prosecuting the noble purpose of the regeneration of the land of their fathers." — *Letters on the Colonization Society*, p. 23.

The writer of an able article on the slave-trade, for the *London Amulet*, for 1832, said to be a distinguished naval officer, has the following, among other remarks on the American colony :

"The character of these industrious colonists is exceedingly correct and moral; their minds strongly impressed with religious feelings; their manners serious and decorous; and their domestic habits remarkably neat and comfortable. Those who have visited them, speak highly of their appearance and mode of living. They are a comely and well-formed race of negroes; neat and clean in their persons; modest and civil in their manners; and regular and comfortable in their dwellings. Their houses are well built, ornamented with gardens and other pleasing decorations, and on the inside are remarkably clean; the walls well white-washed, and the rooms neatly furnished." — *Letters on the Colonization Society*, p. 24.

We shall close our extracts with the recent letter of Dr. Shane, of Washington, who went out last winter with the first emigrants from the valley of the Mississippi. The easy liveliness and *bonhomie* of the original, have prevented us from giving a much briefer abstract :

"At times, on our passage out, they were quite desponding, and seemed ready to turn back to the flesh-pots of Egypt, especially when we stopped at the island of Mayo, a remarkably barren and unfruitful place, which tended to confirm them in the opinion, that the nearer they approached Africa, the more sterile and unfruitful was the land; but when we made Cape Mount, where vegetation was seen in all its luxuriance, and

not a spot of ground but what was covered with the greenest verdure, their tone was changed, and their countenances brightened up, especially when the Kroomen boarded us, and, in answer to their inquiries, enumerated some of the productions of Liberia, and they came to the conclusion that there was some hope of obtaining a decent livelihood. The coast between Cape Mount and here is lined with the lofty palm, and plantations of rice and cassada, and resembles very much the eastern coast of the United States. I visited them at Caldwell on Wednesday. They were overjoyed to see me, but soon let me know they had no wish to return. Davy's wife, Lishy, in particular, who had been complaining all the way out, and declaring she would go back or write to Kentucky for none to come, came to me and said, 'Oh, Doctor, I find I can live here as well as in the United States; all I want is to see the rest of my people here. I must write for them to come; you must see them, and tell them how it is,' &c. This was a source of much gratification, but not of wonder to me, when I see their prospects. All emigrants here are treated with the utmost kindness by the officers of government, who interest themselves personally in their behalf, and endeavour to make them as comfortable as possible. The vice-agent, Mr. A. D. Williams, has promised to do all he can for Davy. McKie has the most flattering prospects held out. All that is wanting here is industry, to make the emigrants not only in easy circumstances, but wealthy. Land is purchased at twenty-five cents per acre, and every inducement held out to the farmer and mechanic. Coffee, sugar-cane, and cotton grow wild; the last of which I was picking myself yesterday, in sight of the town. I hear no dissatisfaction expressed by the emigrants, nor any desire to return to the United States. Gov. Mechlin is absent, holding land palaver, and expects to make some very valuable additions to the colony. Mr. Williams took charge of all on board, and I shall take his receipt for the same. At the island of Mayo, I sold the potatoes, which were spoiling, and a few barrels of bread, and shipped two hundred and forty bushels of salt for the colony, which will yield a net profit of one hundred and seventy-five or two hundred dollars. The Crawford sails to day for the leeward, on a trading expedition of three weeks. At the advice of the vice-agent, I shall remain on board, as Governor Mechlin requested I should not sleep on shore unless I remained here. I shall visit Millsburg on my return, and will probably reach the United States in June. The so much dreaded fever here is becoming quite harmless; some expeditions lose none, and nearly all who

came out in the James Perkins, have gone through the attack with the loss of only four or five. Some of them have already commenced making brick, others working at the bench, others tanning hides, &c. I am certain no friend to humanity can come here and see the state of things without being impressed with the immense benefits the Society is conferring on the long neglected and oppressed sons of Africa, and find their whole soul enlisted in behalf of so noble an institution. Let but the colored man come and see for himself, and the tear of gratitude will beam in his eye, as he looks forward to the not far distant day, when Liberia shall take her stand among the nations of the world, and proclaim abroad an empire, founded by benevolence, offering a home to the poor, oppressed, and weary. Nothing, rest assured that nothing but a want of knowledge of Liberia, prevents thousands of honest, industrious free blacks from rushing to this heaven-blessed land, where liberty and religion, with all their blessings, are enjoyed.

"Four Guinea-men have been captured near here in less than a month." — *African Repository*, pp. 109, 110.

In regard to what is said of the Liberian climate and the health of the settlers, here and elsewhere, it is proper that the public should be well informed of the circumstances which have occasioned the controversy on this subject, as well as of the merits of that controversy itself. The lives of our citizens, whether white or black, are not a matter to be trifled with, certainly, as those of inferior animals sometimes are, in the prosecution of experiments of any kind; nor yet, on the other hand, ought an accusation of such a character, for proportionally good reasons, to rest unjustly on the Society or its advocates. Under these impressions, we have undertaken and completed what we consider a thorough examination of all the evidence bearing upon the question referred to, with which the public have been favored for some years past. Our conclusions are as follows:

1. That the mortality among the emigrants of all descriptions, from first to last, has not only been small in comparison with that of Sierra Leone and other settlements on the same coast, but that it has not been, absolutely, very considerable. The present population, as compared with the estimate of emigrants colonized, — and bearing in mind that no other class is included under the census, — renders this matter sufficiently clear. The actual loss since the settlements commenced, as far as we have been able to ascertain,

is somewhere between one and two hundred, excluding, of course, the deaths which took place in the preliminary miscellaneous attempts to obtain a location.

2. That the number of deaths, during the first few years, was proportionably much greater than during the last. Up to January, 1824, forty-six deaths had occurred, including all the emigrants, at Sierra Leone and elsewhere. About half of these were among the passengers in the first vessel fitted out. Eight were on board the *Oswego*, which went out in 1823; three among the one hundred and five passengers of the *Cyrus* the next season, which three were small children; two of the sixty-six passengers in the *Hunter* in 1825. Of the thirty-four who went out from Boston in the *Vine*, the same year, and the only expedition furnished by New England, more than half fell victims to the climate. Now let us observe, that, of the one hundred and fifty-four emigrants from North-Carolina, who sailed during the same winter, "not an individual suffered materially from sickness; while some, who left Norfolk in bad health, ultimately derived benefit from the change of climate: all felt, more or less, the symptoms of fever, ague, and prostration of strength, which the system must necessarily experience on transition from a temperate to a tropical climate."* In 1827, ninety-three more went from North Carolina, who "enjoyed perfect health during the voyage, and experienced the effects of the climate with only the loss of two small children." The *Randolph*, with twenty-six slaves from South Carolina, landed "all her passengers in perfect health." Four children were lost among the one hundred and sixty-four passengers in the *Nautilus*. But of one hundred and seven in the *Doris*, twenty-four died; and twenty-six of the one hundred and sixty in the *Harriet*, which sailed from Norfolk in 1829. Not to pursue the catalogue farther, not one died of the ninety-one recaptured Africans colonized the next year; and we are informed on the best authority, under date of last March, that "among the emigrants by the *Volador*, *Criterion*, *James Perkins*, *Margaret Mercer*, and *Crawford*, the number of deaths will not average quite four per cent." This leads us to remark,

3. That it may be proved, as well as presumed, that the

* Tenth Report.

occasional disproportion of deaths, observable in this statement, was owing to causes in some measure accidental, but most of which have been ascertained, and ascertained to be of a character which reasonable and easy precautions are sufficient to obviate. Of course they need not be repeated. Some of these causes are to be looked for in the imprudence and improvidence of the emigrants; but more in their mere inexperience, and in that of the Society, in regard to matters wherein experience could be their only instructor, and wherein, experience once gained, an undue mortality could not and cannot continue, without becoming the fault, as well as misfortune, of all concerned.

To illustrate:—The early cases were generally owing, like the suffering of the Plymouth settlers two centuries before, not only to the fatigues of settlement, and defence against the natives, but to the want of good houses, and to ignorance of a regimen and manner of life suited to the climate. Subsequent to the erection of proper buildings for the emigrants newly arrived, and the establishment of a proper medical system, the only two cases of great mortality are those of the *Doris* and the *Harriet*. As to these, it is but justice to the managers to cite their own statements: "It deserves remembrance," they say, in the Report for 1829, "that the season was one of the most unhealthy ever known; that the passage of the *Doris* had been nearly twice the usual length; that *the mortality was confined to those who had occupied most northerly situations in this country*; and that all the deaths occurred in *Monrovia*." The reason last mentioned alludes to the superior healthiness of the high land in the interior, a point well confirmed by recent experience, and made more important by the attention recently paid to the inland and upland settlements. These are found to be as healthy as the ridges of Virginia, and indeed the climate is very similar. As to the *Harriet*: The same cause applied to her passengers: "But there were other and powerful causes"; [*Report of 1830.*] one of which was "imprudent exposure to the weather," and another, "a free indulgence in tropical fruits."

But, supposing these conclusions to be correct, the question still arises, have the managers done what belonged to their province for the prevention of mortality in future? We

believe that justice requires us to answer in the affirmative. We extract from the last report of the society :

"Among the colonists generally, health has prevailed during the year, and it is the opinion of the Colonial Agent, that emigrants, after the first year, find the African climate more congenial to their constitutions than that of the United States. Some diseases which prove very destructive in our country, are there nearly unknown. Resolved to do all in their power to promote the health of the Colony, and to guard against the fatal effects of the climate, the Managers have recently sent out large supplies of medicines ; appropriated a fund for the erection of a hospital ; directed that the best situations be selected, both on the coast and in the interior, for all future emigrants, that buildings be constructed, and all things arranged and provided for their accommodation. The Managers are convinced that much of the mortality which has heretofore occurred, has been owing to ignorance of the climate, imprudent exertions, exposures and improper diet among those newly arrived, want of adequate medical advice, and of those comforts and attentions which neither the means of the Society, nor the circumstances of the Colony, just rising into existence on a remote shore, rendered it possible to supply. To the health of the Colony, the Managers have directed their thoughts as to an object of chief concern ; and they express confidently the opinion, that people of color from most regions of our Southern States will experience no serious injury from the African climate, and that such persons, from any section of our country, will soon be able to settle on the elevated lands of the interior, where there exist, it is believed, no special causes of disease." p. 3.

These observations lead us to add a word in reference to the emigrating system, proper to be adopted in *this* country. We think it should be distinctly understood as the Society's policy to encourage, for the present, emigration *almost or quite exclusively from the Southern and Middle States*. The fate of the emigrants by the Vine is not indeed a criterion, on one side ; nor yet is the better fortune of many Southern expeditions, on the other. But let public circumspection, in a matter of such importance and interest to all parties, be respected ; and if prejudice exist, let it be subdued gradually. There is no lack of applicants for the colony, meanwhile. Two thousand were waiting for a passage at one period, a year or two since, in North Carolina alone. At this time, there are five hundred in Virginia, and two hundred in the

city of Charleston. The South-western States might suffice to employ all the Society's funds to convey, and also satisfy the limited competency of the colony to receive, for some considerable time. In a word, the Society may feel free to exercise a somewhat chary discretion in the selection of subjects, and public opinion, as well as true policy, requires that they should do so. Their own consciousness of this policy, indeed, appears in their publications previous to the last cited. Mr. Ashmun's intimations were very clear on the subject. "Draw a line," said he, "due east and west across Elkridge, Maryland, and not a death has invaded the people from the south of it,"—a statement alluding to the mortality of 1828.

On the whole, then, we believe that if emigration from *this* quarter be suspended for the present; if attempts be not made, which would be imprudent and improper under any circumstances, to colonize the aged, or the invalid, (several of which classes have heretofore swelled the bills of mortality,) or to *crowd* the settlements with too many of any description; if such preparations and precautions are taken and made in regard to the transportation and the becoming acclimatized, by the emigrants and by the Managers, as obvious reason and experience abundantly dictate, and for which the existing provision and pending declarations of the Society are a stable and solemn pledge;—with these qualifications, we believe that African colonization may be as safe as European generally has been to this country for the last fifty years. We suppose it to be true, as the Liberians stated in their address of 1827, that not one person in forty from the Middle and Southern States, has died from change of climate up to this date; that the seasoning which these emigrants are to expect, is, as Dr. Randall expressed it, "less a disease than a salutary effort of nature," to accommodate the system to new influences; that, with ordinary prudence, little danger is to be apprehended even on the coast, by sober and healthy emigrants from any section, and none at all by those from the South; that as the country becomes more cultivated and settled, it will rapidly become more salubrious; and that there is good reason to believe, that on the settlements which are and will be formed on the highlands, the diseases and the causes of disease, chiefly prevalent on the coast, are and will be alike unknown.

We have treated this subject rather at length, because in this part of the United States, there is more apprehension, and more cause for it, in regard to the Liberian climate, than there is respecting any other point suggested by the Society's publications. The advantages of the colony, and the benefits arising and to be expected from it, are generally too well understood to need much enforcing. Information is needed only upon a few matters which may be considered minutiae; and that information, we have thought, having once undertaken to furnish it, should be distinct, complete, and conclusive. We disclaim all interest in the case but such as springs from deliberate considerations of humanity, charity, patriotism, and truth. If mistakes are detected in the statements we have endeavoured to obtain and to communicate as correct ones, let them be exposed. So important a question ought not to be left undiscussed; still less ought it to be left undecided.

At the commencement of this article, we proposed to close with setting forth some of the principal arguments in favor with sSociety. But our limits are already reached, and we of the e content with barely sketching an outline of their prin- must b sufficient only to serve as a recapitulation of what they ciples, blished, and a suggestion for those of our readers who have punclined to dwell upon any particulars of the system.

The Society was established simply for the Colonization of the Free Blacks of this country, or of such as might be manumitted for the purpose, with their consent, in Africa, or some other place. The motives which led to such a movement, and which still continue it, looked mainly to the condition and character of the class who were to be the objects of what was considered an enlarged, disinterested charity. They were thought to be the most ignorant, improvident, destitute, suffering, and degraded part of our community; and owing to the well known peculiar relation they bear to all other classes, a voluntary removal, under circumstances of comfort, liberty, education, emulation, and profitable and honorable employment, was believed to be their most effectual and speedy means of relief. Other considerations of course applied to the country at large, in illustration of which it might be sufficient to refer to the unerring test of the bills of mortality, pauperism, population, and crime. The free blacks, in this commonwealth at this time, constitute about one seventieth

part of our whole number, while their proportion of convicts in the Charlestown prison was recently stated at about one sixth.

As to the slaves, the slave-owners, and the slave-system, the Society have always declined interfering with them in any other way than by the exertion of a strong and undisguised moral influence; and especially by experiment and argument, going to show both the inutility and danger of the system, and the practicability of its being mitigated or wholly done away. Their hopes in this connexion (or rather those of some of their friends), of draining the country by removal, appear to us too sanguine; but they are undoubtedly doing much good in the information and reflection which they circulate and suggest. Their hopes of thus promoting voluntary emancipation, have been fulfilled to an extent highly gratifying as regards the happiness of many individuals, and still more the Society's prospects of ulterior success. Respecting slavery, their principle is to *induce* rather than to *do*.

The commercial advantages to be expected from a line of flourishing settlements on the African coast, were well stated by Mr. Jefferson and others as long since at least as 1811; * but these are subordinate considerations. They depend also, for the amount of importance they may attain, on the *civilization of the natives*, which, after all, is the grand object for the Society and the Country to rely upon and to labor for. We do not add the *suppression of the slave-trade*, — on the Liberian coast and the vicinity, at least, — because we regard that momentous interest to be included in the one just mentioned. All who have examined this subject agree, that although the traffic might possibly be suppressed separately, the interior cannot, on the other hand, be civilized, except so far as the coast shall be cleared and the natives assured, permanently, against the inroads of the traders.

The Society believe, and we have no hesitation in saying that we believe with them, that the best if not only means which this country, under present circumstances, can take for promoting either or both of these great objects, is the foundation of agricultural settlements on the coast; the occupation of the mouths of rivers; the furnishing stations of refreshment and repair for American commerce, and the American Navy; the establishment of a colonial system of

* Letter to Mr. Lynd.

cruising on the coast ; but more than all the rest, the instruction, — by the surest and safest of all modes, example, association, and every inducement of kindred interest and emulation, — of those numerous, peaceable, and powerful tribes in the interior, which, while their docility and credulity make them easily the instruments, agents, and victims of the accursed trade, might as easily, for the same reasons, be instructed in the principles of the Gospel, and confirmed in the habits of civilized men.

Leaving these subjects at the threshold, we shall only add that the prospects of the Society on the African coast, are encouraging to a degree which ten years ago would hardly have been believed possible. Along the whole extent of their own territory in particular, the Slave-trade is nearly annihilated. The disposition of the natives, with whom they have cultivated an extensive intercourse, is precisely what was desired. The Liberian blacks are regarded with high respect, mingled with a cordial good will, and a determination to imitate their example as far as the opportunity shall be allowed. Children have been frequently sent in by the Chiefs, with an earnest request that they might be instructed ; and we believe that the two important purchases recently completed, of which we have spoken, were obtained mainly on the strength of a promise by the colonists to take early measures of a similar character for the benefit of the grantors and their countrymen. There never has been, since the days of the Apostles a nobler or a wider field for the missionary of civilization and Christianity. God grant there may be laborers enough for the harvest.

ART. X. — *The Life of Gouverneur Morris, with Selections from his Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers ; detailing Events in the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and in the Political History of the United States.* By JARED SPARKS. 3 vols. 8vo. Boston. Gray & Bowen. 1832.

THE history of few nations is so full of instruction for succeeding generations as that of the United States. Short as

it is, many of the principal dangers, to which the nation and the government are exposed, have either been anticipated by the wise, and thus disarmed of their power, or have been experienced and passed through by the unchecked temerity of a youthful republic. The accumulation of precedents is not perhaps great ; but the cases are already in a course of repetition ; and it is thus demonstrated, that they are sufficiently numerous for the instruction and guidance of those who are desirous of improving, either by the suggestions of wisdom, or the lessons of experience. This assertion may sound paradoxical at first, but a slight examination of its grounds will show it not to be without foundation. In the first place, we date from no fabulous or doubtful antiquity ; every thing of importance, whether in event or character, is known with all the certainty of which history admits. No foolish fiction can mystify our origin ; no tradition can conceal the circumstances, under which we have sprung into existence, and grown to vigorous maturity. Descended too from nations which had formed for themselves established and civilized characters, no doubt is thrown over the source of our own peculiarities, the points which distinguish us from other people. Our antiquity is not so remote as to throw any of the obscurity of barbarism over the causes which have operated to form us such as we are ; but the reciprocal influence under which character is modified by circumstances, and the course of events affected by character, may be clearly and curiously traced throughout the whole brief, but varied history of the different governments that are now united into one people. It is impossible but that instruction should be drawn from recorded truth, if we are disposed to search for it ; and it is certain, that the history of our forefathers contains lessons as important as they are interesting to us and our children.

Another still greater source of the value of our history is, that, though so brief, it contains the record of many events that have exemplified the dangers to which the government is exposed. These dangers are, from the nature of our institutions, fewer than those to which others are exposed. More arbitrary governments, disposed to exercise control over their subjects in as great a variety of cases as possible, are perpetually encountering unforeseen difficulties. They assume authority in things not necessarily connected with

the good order of society, or with the stability of government; and thus, instead of strengthening their position, they only render themselves unnecessarily vulnerable upon a thousand points. Interfering, as they do, with the mode in which a man shall occupy himself, the education he shall be permitted to receive, the views of religion he may be allowed to profess, the books he may read, and even the intelligence of passing events he may hear, the government is perpetually coming across his path. He cannot do any thing, scarcely think of any thing, with which the authority of government is not mingled; and mingled not in the way of protection and support, but in interruption to his plans, in thwarting his natural and reasonable wishes, in encumbering his movements, and burdening his labor. These manifold restraints upon men's course of action are held necessary to the support of good government and good order. It is considered highly improper, that any one should presume to have a religious faith differing from that of his sovereign; and a diversity of opinion upon political subjects is held to be subversive of all order. The dignity and splendor of the government must be upheld by taxation; and thus men are compelled to furnish the means of imposing and perpetuating the most obnoxious restraints upon their own actions. It is not surprising that such opinions should be promulgated by the incumbents of the high places of worldly authority. There is something which seems so universally and deliciously intoxicating in the gilded cup of power, even when its contents are reduced to the smallest quantity, that it is natural that they, who have drunk of it deeply, should cling to it with insatiate appetite, with Argus watchfulness, and convulsive energy. It would not, however, have been anticipated, that they should find so many converts to their theory among those who were to be held in their iron grasp; that so many should be willing to contend for the privilege of being controlled in every movement and every thought. This is to be accounted for only from the prevailing ignorance of the proper end and object of government, and the engrossing attention required by more private and personal interests. It needs but a glance at the subject to perceive, that political government ought to secure to every individual as large a portion of his personal rights as is consistent with the common good; to protect the well-disposed against the

machinations of the bad ; “ to provide for the common defence and promote the general welfare.” Legitimate government has nothing to do with the establishment of privileged orders and classes in the community ; it never could have given to a few individuals, and their heirs and assigns, the inalienable right to control the general interests of society, whether this be done skilfully or unskilfully, with or without a due regard to justice and moral rectitude. Still less could it ever have given birth to those monstrous systems that have heretofore existed, and unhappily are still to be found, under which the governed appear to be treated like a conquered foe, subject to all the contumely and rapine which can be devised by an insulting and successful enemy. Where such a scheme as this is in practice ; where force is the only or principal agent of authority, the dangers to which the government is exposed, are, of course, greatly multiplied. It may be a strong government, but can hardly be called a secure one. It is the interest of the majority to overthrow it, and sooner or later they will find it out ; and in exact proportion to what has been considered the strength of the government, will be the fierceness of the conflict, and the terrors of succeeding vengeance. In this period of the world, especially, are those governments in danger, which, forgetful of their true purpose, seek to retain powers and privileges in the hands of the few at the expense of the many. It behoves every government, at the present day, when excitement on the subject of political rights is so universal, to be able to show that its institutions are not only compatible with the public good, but conducive to the general welfare. Things of a bad and dangerous tendency are now examined and questioned with more scrutiny than formerly ; their history and reason demanded ; and if they are not reformed by those who possess the power, they run the risk of being abolished by the indiscriminating fury of popular excitement.

We cannot be too thankful in this country, — we are certainly very far from feeling as grateful as we ought, — that we are not exposed to such tremendous convulsions as are now agitating the finest countries of Europe on this subject. As we have never suffered the evils under which they have long groaned, we can hardly realize the blessings of our exemption. Our government was originally and professedly

established for the true ends of all good government. It is a scheme skilfully framed, and it was deliberately adopted, and has thus far been maintained, by the will of the majority of the whole people. As we have no class possessed of peculiar privileges and none exempted from their share of the common burdens, as all men among us are really, as well as theoretically, equal in political and civil rights (so far as the condition of humanity will permit), it is impossible to array one class of society against another; there is a common interest which unites them all in the maintenance of such a system of government. The attempt has sometimes been made even here, to separate men into distinct classes, but it has always speedily failed; and it always must fail as long as it is so clearly for the interest of the majority to adhere to our established institutions. We are free therefore from the danger of political convulsion for the purpose of acquiring or securing rights for those who bear political burdens. We have them, and we have always enjoyed them, as completely and universally as they can be possessed. We are thus safe from a great majority of the dangers to which previous governments have been exposed. There is and there can be no discontent for want of political rights; and we have never heard a serious suggestion from any of those who are most inclined to complain, that any other system or scheme of government would be more desirable on the whole. The dangers to which we are exposed arise, not from the faults of our institutions, which are certainly adapted, as well as designed, to secure all common rights, and to promote the general welfare; but merely from the weakness of human nature, which is liable to become corrupted by the enjoyment of good, or negligent of blessings of which it has never been deprived. We have but to take care that our government is administered in the spirit in which it was planned. We wish for no reform, no change in its principles, but simply the strictest adherence to them.

We are singularly fortunate in the history of our government in this respect. Not only were its principles amply and ably discussed at the time of its adoption, but they have been practically developed under the general direction and administration of those who assisted in its formation. For thirty-six of the forty-four years since it was put in operation, it has been in the hands, either of those who made it,

or of those who were their contemporaries, both in the executive and legislative departments. It has for nearly half a century been the theme of exhaustless discussion and debate ; and if any important principle is left doubtful, it will really be a fortunate circumstance for our successors, that they may be saved from wasting their breath upon trifles.

If this endless discussion of the constitution be tedious, it still must ultimately settle the precise meaning of every phrase, so far as the unavoidable ambiguity of language will permit. It is not a thing of tradition or custom merely ; but an instrument partly founded upon the oldest habits of the country, and partly establishing new customs in the place of some which had proved injurious. It was a happy mixture of experiment and experience, combined by wisdom and moderation, and confided to the discretion of succeeding generations. If we fail to learn the lessons which the history of our own nation may teach us, the folly and the loss will be extreme indeed. The advantage of possessing the knowledge is indisputably great, the opportunity of acquiring it unprecedented, and the consequences of neglecting it incalculable.

Another circumstance which adds to the importance and the interest of our history is the extraordinary collection of men of rare talents and virtue, whose labors were united and devoted, with zeal and single-heartedness, to serve and exalt their country. It is a common, but we think a very ill founded remark, that talents are always produced or brought forward by the circumstances which require their action. If this were uniformly or generally the case, we should hear and see less of opportunities wasted, and advantages lost, for want of the talents or virtues adapted to the occasion. The truth is, that as the current of human affairs is not stopped to wait for the characters suited to the circumstances which arise, we are not always able to pronounce upon the changes which might have been for the better or worse in any given case. But it sometimes happens that there is so striking a proof either of adaptation, or the want of it, of character to situation, that it would be mere dulness to overlook the manifest purposes of Providence. Such is the case with regard to the history of the American and French revolutions respectively. No one will deny that in the narrative of the latter may be found demonstrations of as brilliant talents as

in that of the former ; but the difference, the great, and, for us, the glorious difference in the result arises from the fitness in the one case, and the unfitness in the other, of the characters developed by the occasions. We are compelled to see, and are bound to acknowledge with gratitude, the distinction which was appointed by God. We did not form the characters of our ancestors, and we should not, therefore, make them the subject of a foolish and barren pride ; but our own should, as far as may be, be formed upon theirs ; we should emulate the public virtues which they so remarkably displayed, and we must learn, from their lives, and the history of their glorious career, the important truth that public merit must be founded on the basis of private worth.

Among the illustrious men whose reputation constitutes the political treasure of our country, the name of Gouverneur Morris has always been conspicuous, and is now likely to take a higher rank than ever. His character will become more extensively known, and will be more valued in consequence of the able and interesting biography which Mr. Sparks has produced.

From the earliest period of manhood he was engaged in public affairs ; and from the beginning he took rank among those whose opinions were of most importance, and was in the confidence of those whose patriotism and talents were most distinguished. In the Provincial Congress of New York he advocated the declaration of independence, and afterwards in the Continental Congress he was engaged in all those multifarious ways in which circumstances rendered it necessary for the leading and most active members to be employed. Taking part in the debates of the public sessions, he labored also upon committees, where the greater portion of the business fell upon his shoulders ; he was sent to the army to consult with the commander upon the state and the prospect of affairs, and to devise the best remedies for existing evils ; he was employed in arranging schemes of finance, better modes of conducting the public business in Congress, and a new organization of the army in every department. And upon all these subjects he showed such industry, sagacity, quickness, and accuracy of observation, such promptness of decision and fertility of resource, such cheerful courage in difficulty, and such unwavering integrity at all times, as render his example one of the most pleasing and useful to be

found in the records of that eventful and illustrious era.* It must have been no common mind which, at the early age of five or six and twenty, could have stood thus prominent amid that honored band of the wise and the patriotic among our fathers.

At a subsequent period he was connected with Robert Morris, as his assistant, in all those important financial operations which contributed so much to our success in the revolutionary contest. He had shown a great aptitude for such occupations both in Congress, and afterwards by a series of articles on the state of the finances, published in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, which displayed the most comprehensive and clear views of that perplexed subject, the currency, and a thorough acquaintance with the true principles of finance. In this office his labors must have been as great, and their results as useful, as at any period of his life.

The next prominent part which he acted was as a mem-

* The following extract from one of his letters exhibits the course of his life in Congress, and justifies the remark of Mr. Sparks, "that nothing but a prodigious industry, firm health of body, and a wide grasp of mental powers, could have enabled him to endure and perform so much."

"Not many years before his death, a person applied to him for written materials, respecting events of the revolution in which he had been personally engaged. His reply will add light to this subject. 'I have no notes,' said he, 'or memorandums of what passed during the war. I led then the most laborious life, which can be imagined. This you will readily suppose to have been the case, when I was engaged with my departed friend, Robert Morris, in the office of finance. But what you will not so readily suppose is, that I was still more harassed while a member of Congress. Not to mention the attendance from eleven to four in the House, which was common to all, and the appointment to special committees, of which I had a full share, I was at the same time chairman, and of course did the business, of three standing committees, viz. on the commissary's, quartermaster's, and medical departments. You must not imagine, that the members of these committees took any charge or burden of the affairs. Necessity, preserving the democratical forms, assumed the monarchical substance of business. The chairman received and answered all letters and other applications, took every step which he deemed essential, prepared reports, gave orders, and the like, and merely took the members of a committee into a chamber, and for the form's sake made the needful communications, and received their approbation, which was given of course. I was moreover obliged to labor occasionally in my profession, as my wages were insufficient for my support. I would not trouble you with this abstract of my situation, if it did not appear necessary to show you why I kept no notes of my services, and why I am perhaps the most ignorant man alive of what concerns them.' All the papers he has left pertaining to that period, as well as the printed records, confirm the accuracy of this picture of his life in Congress." — Vol. i. pp. 217, 218.

ber of the convention for forming the constitution of the United States. Of this we have no memoranda to enable us to judge of the degree in which his mind was exerted, and his influence felt, except the following extract of a letter from him to Col. Pickering, written long afterwards, and the testimony of the venerable survivor of that assembly. He says to Col. Pickering, "While I sat in the convention, my mind was too much occupied by the interests of our country, to keep notes of what we had done. Some gentlemen, I was told, passed their evenings in transcribing speeches from shorthand minutes of the day. My faculties were on the stretch to further our business, remove impediments, obviate objections, and conciliate jarring opinions."

Mr. Madison, in answer to inquiries made by Mr. Sparks relative to Mr. Morris's agency in the Convention, says, "He was an able, an eloquent, and an active member," and attributes to his pen "the *finish* given to the style and arrangement of the Constitution." We should quote the whole of Mr. Madison's interesting letter but for its length, and the fact of its having been circulated extensively in the newspapers. We cannot forbear, however, from adding the following sentence, which mentions a trait of character alike honorable to him who possessed it, and to him who observed and acknowledged its existence.

"It is but due to Mr. Morris to remark, that, to the brilliancy of his genius, he added, what is too rare, a candid surrender of his opinions, when the lights of discussion satisfied him, that they had been too hastily formed, and a readiness to aid in making the best of measures in which he had been overruled." This is a beautiful evidence of the candor of two highminded men, who, with very different general views and feelings, can yet sacrifice prejudice and self-love to the desire to do justice to each other's merits.

It may be safely inferred from this testimony, that Mr. Morris's talents were as powerfully felt in that convention as on other interesting occasions.

In the winter of 1788-9 Mr. Morris went to Europe, and arriving in Paris at the opening of the French Revolution, there was abundant opportunity for the exercise of his mind upon passing events. He kept a journal of what he saw and heard, from which Mr. Sparks has given us copious extracts, and there is a sagacity and a liveliness of remark pervading it,

which show how well he was suited to make the most of his opportunities.* His judgment was too sound to be misled by the mere cry of liberty which resounded through all France. He knew that something else was required to obtain it, besides the mere wish; and he saw the want of those principles and habits of freedom which must of necessity be gradually formed, and which alone can give consistency to the government and security to the people. He was, therefore, entirely opposed to the revolutionary party, properly so called, and thought that even the more moderate among the reformers, of whom Lafayette was the leader and the organ, went beyond the limits that were most suitable to their age and nation. The result has, unhappily, proved the correctness of his views; for after forty years of anarchy, misrule, and convulsion, France is but now, — if, indeed, even now, — *beginning* to acquire those more sober

* We cannot indulge ourselves in quotations, which would multiply upon us as we advanced; but as a slight specimen of his manner of observation we shall give the few following sentences.

“*March 27th.* — At three the Maréchal de Castries calls, and takes me to dine with Monsieur and Madame Necker. In the *salon* we found Madame. She seems to be a woman of sense, and somewhat of the masculine in her character. A little before dinner Monsieur enters. He has the look and manner of the counting-house, and, being dressed in embroidered velvet, he contrasts strongly with his habiliments. His bow, his address, say, “I am the man.” Our company is one half academicians. The Dutchess of Biron, formerly Lauzun, is one. I observe that M. Necker seems occupied by ideas, which rather distress him. He cannot, I think, stay in office half an hour, after the nation insist on keeping him there. He is now much harassed, and Madame receives continually *Mémoires* from different people; so that she seems as much occupied as he is. If he is really a very great man, I am deceived; and yet this is a rash judgment. If he is not a laborious man, I am also deceived.” — pp. 298-9.

“*June 6th.* — The Bishop of Autun (Talleyrand), who is one of our company, and an intimate friend of Madame Flahaut, appears to me a sly, cool, cunning, ambitious, and malicious man. I know not why conclusions so disadvantageous to him are formed in my mind; but so it is, and I cannot help it.” — p. 312.

“*November 4th.* — Go to Madame de Staël's, in consequence of her invitation of yesterday. A great deal of *bel esprit*. The Bisop declined coming this morning, when I asked him at Madame de Flahaut's. I think that in my life I never saw such exuberant vanity, as that of Madame de Staël upon the subject of her father. Speaking of the opinion of the Bishop d'Autun on the church property, which he has lately printed, not having had an opportunity to deliver it in the Assembly, she says that it is excellent, it is admirable, in short, that there are two pages in it, which are worthy of M. Necker. Afterwards, she said, that wisdom is a very rare quality, and that she knows of no one who possesses it in a superlative degree, excepting her father.” — p. 335.

views and habits which are requisite to the union of "liberty and order." Separated thus by his opinions from those who would have been expected to be most naturally his friends, he became associated with many of the royalist party; and it is a circumstance not a little singular in the history of an American constitutional republican, that he should be in the confidence of the royal family of France at that epoch, that he should give them counsel, and aid of a valuable kind, and receive their thanks for the services he rendered them. There was not, in all this, the slightest compromise of his own principles. He was as much a republican for America as ever; but he was not satisfied that republican principles would flourish, if violently transplanted to the climate of France, as vigorously as on their native soil.

While he was residing in Paris attending to his private affairs, he received a commission from President Washington, to undertake a secret negotiation with the British ministry, respecting the cession of the frontier posts, the compensation for slaves carried off during the war, and other particulars of the treaty of peace, with which they were backward in complying. In this delicate business he discovered his usual acuteness and tact, and if he gained no other object, he well represented the dignity and the intelligence of his country. He was afterwards appointed minister to the court of France, and resided in that capacity either at Paris, or at Sainport, a village a few leagues from the capital, during the following years, signalized by the ruin of the monarchy, and the rapid succession of constitutions, of which it may be said that they were, like the chaos of which the earth was made, "without form and void." He was the only foreign minister who did not retire from the scene of desolation and horror which France then presented; and it was not without imminent personal danger that he remained at his post; "but he looked upon the public interests as paramount to all other considerations, and as demanding every personal sacrifice, not absolutely at variance with the honor of his country." He was relieved from his post by the arrival of Mr. Monroe in August, 1794, and passed the next four years in travelling in England, Scotland, Switzerland, and Germany. In Berlin and Vienna he made repeated and judicious efforts for the liberation of Lafayette; and it is no discredit to him, whatever it may be to the governments he addressed, that they were

made in vain. He, however, entertained the opinion, in consequence probably of Lafayette's being delivered up to the American consul at Hamburg in his presence, and with a certain degree of formality, that his release was in consequence of the repeated efforts he had made. Mr. Sparks has, without doubt, placed the matter on the true ground in the following paragraph :

" After all, we may probably take the following to be the true state of the case. The condition of the prisoners at Olmutz was discussed at Leoben. Bonaparte requested their release, which was readily granted, since M. Thugut had declared to Mr. Morris, that they would naturally be given up at the peace. They must not be regarded, however, in the light of the prisoners of war, for these were not discharged till after the definitive treaty of Campo Formio, whereas Lafayette was released a month before the signature of that treaty. In this stage of the business, as it would require no sacrifice on the part of the Austrian government, there being no published stipulation with the French negotiator, it was convenient for them to give it the air of a favor to the United States, and to make the most of it in that shape. Had it come a year, or even six months earlier, it would have borne stronger marks of sincerity." — p. 458.

Another person to whom Mr. Morris was enabled to render the most important services during the last years he remained in Europe, was Louis Philippe, then the young Duke of Orleans, now King of the French. The changes of circumstances which have occurred to this monarch are among the most remarkable on record ; and it is gratifying to know that America, in the person of one of her distinguished sons, may claim the praise of having contributed to relieve him in the hour of his need, and that the vicissitudes through which he has passed have tended to form in him a character, far better adapted than it could otherwise have been, to the difficult, perilous, and glorious station he now holds. We quote with pleasure the following letter from the Duke to Mr. Morris, as an evidence of the best dispositions to improve under the circumstances in which he was then placed. In assuming the humble duties of a tutor for his personal support, he had already given the best practical proof that his expressions were not used without understanding their weight.

"Bremgarten, February 24th 1795.

"Sir, I accept with much pleasure the offers you make me. Your kindness is a blessing I owe to my mother, and to our friend. I am sure, that my excellent mother will be somewhat consoled, and more tranquil, to know that I am near you, in your happy country. I am very ready to labor to acquire independence. Hardly had I entered upon life, when the greatest misfortunes assailed me, but, thanks to God, they did not overwhelm me, — too happy in my reverses, that my youth had not given me time to become too much attached to my station, or to contract habits difficult to be broken, and that I was deprived of my fortune before I could either use or abuse it.

"Your excellent friend has the goodness to undertake to send you many particulars respecting my present condition, which are tedious enough, but of which you ought to be informed. I hope, Sir, my confidence will afford you another proof of all those sentiments of esteem and friendship, which you inspire in me.

"L. P. D'ORLEANS."

In 1798, Mr. Morris returned to his original sphere of usefulness, his native land, and immediately occupied as large a space as ever in the eye of the community. He was engaged with Livingston, against Hamilton and Burr, in a remarkable law case, of which tradition still speaks as a display of the most brilliant powers on both sides. He was then elected to the Senate of the United States, where he sustained his reputation as a powerful thinker and debater; but not being reelected, he retired in 1803 to private life, in which he spent thirteen years of happiness and activity. It was a necessity of his nature to think with brilliancy, and of this no better evidence could be given, than the fact that it was he, as Mr. Sparks has made sufficiently plain, who first suggested the idea of connecting lake Erie with the Hudson river by a water communication. The last years of his life were devoted to the pursuit of this splendid object, and we hardly know one more worthy to have been the last great subject of interest to a man whose whole life had been given to the promotion of his country's good.

From this brief review of the course of that life, it must be apparent that it was one full of interest and incident, of wisdom and of instruction. It is the reputation of such men that we prize for our country, and on which we should hope

that of our country might rest. Not that we should agree with all Mr. Morris's theories of government, nor with all his predilections ; but we have the highest respect for talents, guided, as his were, by strict integrity and uprightness. If a man will conscientiously pursue what he believes to be right, and will show that he has, in general, the sagacity and wisdom necessary to discover what is useful, we can excuse him for holding notions of government either too lax on the one hand, or too strong on the other. Especially can we, who belong to another generation, make allowance for the prejudice instilled by early education into the minds of our political fathers, which led them to admire with excessive ardor some of the valuable parts of the British Constitution, while they carefully kept out of sight the defects and faults, both of theory and practice, which may truly be charged upon that government. We are bound also to look with leniency upon the opposite prejudice imbibed by those who, more struck with the deplorable blemishes which may certainly be found in it, have condemned with too unqualified a censure the whole system ; and we hope we may be allowed to cherish, without encountering a sneer at our youthful enthusiasm, something like a filial attachment to the government under which we were happily born, and have happily lived. It seems to us, not merely to be that which is best adapted to the character and condition of our own community, but best suited to the best attainable condition of humanity ; and we can wish nothing better to other nations than that they may acquire the character which will render it suitable for them, and nothing better for ourselves than that we may retain to perpetuity the "liberty and union" which has been found, and may be found hereafter, under our Constitution. We know the dangers that have threatened it, and the greater dangers, perhaps, which now menace it ; we know that it is, physically speaking, a weak government, that it can never enforce a law but by means of the very subjects of that law ; but we are sure, also, that moral influence is stronger than armies, that a *majority* possesses more power than the best police, and that the staff of a peace-officer among us has more force than the sabre of a *gendarme* in other countries. There is a moral beauty in our peaceful union, which must and does possess a powerful attraction for every member of it ; and which has called

forth strong expressions of admiration from others. There is a force of persuasion which sometimes overpowers all resistance, and it is this strength in which we wish our government to abound. Let it still persuade by the blessings it scatters, the security it affords to all that is lawful and desirable, the rights, the privileges, the advantages which, under its protection, are common to all, and we shall have no fear that it will not command the attachment which is necessary to its prosperity.

We have left ourselves little room, and it is, perhaps, superfluous, to speak of the manner in which Mr. Sparks has accomplished his task. We are accustomed to look upon his name as a sufficient guaranty of the merit of the work to which it is prefixed, and this biography of Gouverneur Morris is only an additional proof of the correctness of our opinion. His materials were copious and interesting, and he has used them so that they appear to the greatest advantage. Familiar as he is with the general and minute history of the time comprehended in the life of Mr. Morris, every thing is brought to bear on what requires illustration or proof; nothing is overlooked, and nothing left in obscurity which can be explained by contemporary events or opinions. There is, too, a soundness of judgment, a fairness and right-mindedness pervading all his productions, which render them valuable correctives of prejudice, and important guides to the formation of judicious opinions. He never shrinks from stating a useful truth because it may be disagreeable, and is never disposed to exaggerate or under-estimate any one's just reputation. It is by such men that history and biography ought to be written, and we acknowledge ourselves highly pleased that he has so successfully accomplished the work before us, and that it has fallen to him to undertake the task of publishing the writings of that greatest and brightest of human examples, the irreproachable Washington. We hope neither his life, his health, his opportunities, nor his industry will fail, till that noble monument of his country's glory shall be completed

ART. XI. — *The Christian Doctrine of Regeneration.*

By I. H. T. BLANCHARD. Boston. Leonard C. Bowles and B. H. Greene. 1832. 12mo. pp. 81.

WE care not how much calm and judicious discussions of doctrinal topics, like the one before us, are multiplied. It may be that there are as good or better treatises on the same subjects already before the public ; still many, for various reasons, will read the new book, who but for this would read none. Besides, new doubts will from time to time arise, and new difficulties and objections be started, which the recent publication will take care to meet and obviate, and new connexions and bearings be suggested, which the recent publication will take care to consider and weigh.

Mr. Blanchard begins with a careful "review and illustration" of the first part of the conversation of Christ with Nicodemus, and particularly of the declaration, "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

"I have quoted the passage," says he, "as it appears in our in our version. It is to be observed, that it is printed, 'born of water and of the Spirit,' with the article prefixed to the last word, and with a capital letter as the initial. This is calculated to suggest immediately, and very naturally, to the common reader, the idea that the Spirit of God is meant, or, as some would understand it, the third person in the Trinity. Either supposition would be erroneous. The strict literal translation of the original, is, *born of water and spirit*. There is no more reason for writing the latter part of the expression, *the Spirit*, with the article and a capital, than for writing the former, *the Water*; both are written alike in the original, without an article, or a capital. I have no doubt that this circumstance, trivial as it may appear to some, has misled many a reader into an erroneous interpretation of the passage, and has done much to perpetuate the error.

"Making then this correction in our version, the declaration of our Lord would stand thus; 'Except a man be born of water and spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' To be 'born of water,' is to be baptized, and baptism is an outward sign or symbol of a new religious profession. To be 'born of spirit,' is, simply, to be born in a spiritual sense, to be spiritually born. This was intended undoubtedly to be a repetition,

and at the same time an explanation, of what he had first affirmed, 'Ye must be born again.' " — p. 8.

To be spiritually born, as he afterwards explains it more at length, is to have the temper and principles of a spiritual religion formed in the mind, without which no one can expect to participate in the benefits of Christ's mediation. This, as he shows in the second section, is "the essential truth inculcated" in the passage under consideration, and then proceeds to indicate some of the causes which have tended to obscure it. We do hope that much more need not be written to convince any body capable of putting two ideas together, that "regeneration" is not, properly speaking, a Christian doctrine, nor a literal statement of a Christian doctrine, but simply and solely a figure of speech sometimes used by the sacred writers to illustrate a Christian doctrine. If a writer or preacher uses the term, he must do it as a matter of taste, and not because it is necessary or important to the inculcation of the whole counsel of God. On the subject of pressing too hard the analogies between the spiritual and a natural birth, Mr. Blanchard says :

"It grows out of an abuse or overstraining of a single figure of speech adopted by our Lord on a single occasion, so far as we know, and occurring sometimes in the writings of his apostles. To strain this figure into a complete analogy, is the same abuse as might be committed, and often has been committed, upon almost all the comparisons and parables that are found in the New Testament, sometimes to the scandal of the Christian religion, and always to the reproach of those who would be 'wise above what is written.' There is in truth no analogy of any importance between the natural birth and the spiritual birth, except that as one is the commencement of the natural life, so the other is the commencement of the spiritual life ; as one entitled the descendant of Abraham to the privileges of the Mosaic dispensation, so the other entitles all of every coming age, and of every nation, to a participation in the happiness of the Messiah's kingdom. To pursue this simple analogy into many fancied particulars is deviating widely from the example set us by our Lord in his instructions, and derogates from the simplicity and dignity of the truth inculcated." — pp. 25, 26.

In the Third and last, and much the longest Section, he answers the questions, whether regeneration is universally necessary, or not ; whether it supposes and requires, in all cases, a radical entire change of heart ; whether it is in-

staneous ; and whether it be the work of ourselves, or of God. On all these topics he is instructive, and in general satisfactory, and hints are thrown out occasionally of a wider application, which are striking and valuable. Thus, in speaking of the change implied in regeneration, he says :

“ Now it cannot, we should think, fail of having been observed by almost every one, that the cases are not rare, in which, before religion can be said to have dawned in the mind, or to have exerted its genuiue influence upon the character, dispositions are manifested, which, though not, strictly speaking, religious, because not formed under religious culture, are yet amiable and commendable in the sight both of God and men, and are entirely in unison with the dictates and spirit of religion ; and these surely are not to be suppressed by religion, when the individual becomes the subject of it, but rather fostered and strengthened ; they will be more firmly rooted and established, not extirpated, by the newly implanted principle. Such dispositions are like those wild flowers which have sprung up spontaneously in the spot destined to be reduced by the hand of the gardener ; if they are recommended by their beauty and fragrance, they are not only spared, but carefully cherished, to be improved by cultivation, and to have place among those which he collects by transplanting, or rears from the seed.” — p. 35.

Again, in considering the instrumentality by which regeneration is effected, he begins by observing :

“ Before we reply to this inquiry, it may be proper first to make an additional remark on an erroneous idea to which we have just alluded, but which in connexion with the present topic, claims a more particular notice. I mean the idea, somewhat vaguely entertained, that religion is something communicated whole and entire to the soul, existing distinct from the mind. Now it is only necessary to consider the nature of religion, in order to perceive at once the absurdity of this idea. Religion is not a gift of divine grace conferred outright upon man without his seeking it, or using means to obtain it. Religion can no more exist distinct and apart from the mind, than any of its moral qualities, principles, or endowments. Religion, I mean experimental religion, is the mind or heart, enlightened by the truths, governed by the principles, swayed by the motives, exercising the affections, influenced by the hopes, and filled with the spirit of religion ; it is the conscience, the active powers, the whole moral, spiritual nature of the man, directed

by a sense of his accountableness to God, his duty to Christ, his obligations to his fellow-men, and the requisitions of his high, immortal destiny." — pp. 59, 60.

Obviously that change of character which the sacred writers represent under the figure of a regeneration, is wholly a moral change, and in no respects, either in its causes or effects, a physical change. It did not, even among the first Christians, presuppose or produce any alteration in their original capacities or susceptibilities of knowledge or holiness, but only a further developement of their original capacities and susceptibilities. They were new men morally and spiritually, but not physically; in other words, regeneration had no reference to any change of their nature, or to the necessity of such a change.

The early believers, prior to conversion and regeneration, were not only not Christians, but many of them were addicted to other religions of a most corrupting and debasing tendency. They were not only not Christians, but most of them, and some of the best of them were, like Saul, bitterly, actively, and openly opposed to Christianity. Obviously, therefore, the moral change, in its whole extent, through which such persons had to pass, was different and greater than that expected in those, who have been trained up from childhood in some understanding of, and some respect for the Bible, and all Christian institutions. But it does not follow that the animating, the vivifying principle of the change, the being alive to a new set of motives and influences, differs essentially in the two cases; and this is what we understand by the figure of regeneration considered as contradistinguished from the process of sanctification, or Christian improvement.

There is, as it seems to us, an obvious distinction between merely knowing, respecting, and assenting to the all important truths unfolded in the gospel, and feeling their reality; but it is on this feeling of their reality that all proper regeneration must depend. When a man at the present day, who has been brought up in a Christian community, and has enjoyed perhaps the advantages of a Christian education, comes at length to be impressed with a sense of the reality of his relations to God, eternity, and the spiritual world, and from the impulse thence derived begins in good earnest the formation of the Christian character, we say he is regenerated.

We greatly err, however, if we suppose that regeneration, thus explained implies a change in our purposes or dispositions, which we can do nothing to bring about or hasten. We do not make, it is true, our moral and religious capacities and susceptibilities ; nor the exciting and quickening influences and motives which are brought to light in the gospel, and which are necessary to the full developement of our moral and religious capacities and susceptibilities. These are from God. But it remains for us to take ourselves with the moral and religious capacities and susceptibilities which God has given us, and subject ourselves to the exciting and quickening influences and motives which God has provided and set before us ; and regeneration will follow as certainly as the result of any other of the established laws of our moral being.

ART. XII. — *A Memoir of Miss HANNAH ADAMS*, written by HERSELF. *With Additional Notices* by a Friend Boston. Gray & Bowen. 1832. 12mo. pp. 110.

THE above is the title of an unpretending little work, which is designed to perpetuate the memory of a very unpretending but most worthy lady. The autobiography occupies about forty pages of the book, the remainder of which is filled with the "Additional Notices, by a Friend."

The autobiography bears marks of that trembling diffidence and delicate sensibility which were Miss Adams's peculiarities. It was called forth only by the hope that it might furnish the means of support to her surviving sister. It consists of the leading events of her life, stated with great brevity, of short notices of the preparation and publication of her works, and of warm expressions of gratitude towards her benefactors, whom she evidently speaks of with far greater pleasure than of herself.

She was born in Medfield, Massachusetts, in the year 1775, as would appear from the "Obituary," which is included among the "Additional Notices." She has inserted in her "Memoir" so few dates, that we cannot definitely fix the period of many of the incidents which she relates. For some years

during her childhood, her father was in affluent circumstances ; and as he was a lover of literature, though a farmer and country tradesman, Hannah was educated very tenderly and in the midst of books. Her constitution was delicate, of the nervo-sanguineous kind, and extremely excitable, insomuch that her father could not send her to school with the village children, nor could she enter with any degree of pleasure into the common sports of childhood. This feebleness of health and sensitiveness of feeling, which were both of them injurious to her in after-life, were, no doubt, increased by the delicateness of her physical education, and her early habits of novel-reading. The former she never recovered from ; the latter was corrected only by a powerful effort of her naturally energetic mind. Through life, we are told, she regretted that works of fiction should have employed so much of her time in childhood, attributing to them an unhealthy tone of mind and false notions of the world, which unfitted her for real life. Such complaints must always follow a habit of indiscriminate novel-reading, though in few cases is escape so easily made from its pernicious effects.

But her thirst for knowledge would not allow her to stop at the perusal of romances. She was a lover of poetry ; and in reading her favorite poets she opened a fountain of pleasure in her heart which lasted through life, — an admiration of the grand and beautiful in nature, which nature ever rewards with delight. She extended her reading to biography and history with untiring patience, and with a zeal which furnished her mind with treasures against the day of adversity.

The death of her mother, when Hannah was ten years old, and the failure of her father in business, reduced her to extreme distress both mental and bodily, and no doubt gave a melancholy coloring to her temperament. After the bankruptcy of Mr. Adams he resorted to the expedient of taking boarders in order to support himself. His books were still in his possession, and by means of them, and of the kindness of some of the boarders, Hannah became acquainted with the Greek and Latin languages, so that she prepared several young gentlemen for College.

At the age of twenty, her attention was accidentally drawn to the subject of religious controversy, a kind of reading, the benefits of which are often overbalanced by its evil ef-

fects, and which, in her case, was productive of results disastrous to her health, and mental peace for a while ; although she afterwards regained her tranquillity, and as the fruit of her toils produced her work entitled "A View of Religions." This book was published in 1784, by a printer whose unfair dealings Miss Adams has barely alluded to, and whose name her tenderness for his descendants has prevented her from mentioning.

Her health was greatly injured by the industry with which she had labored on her book, by her disappointment at not reaping pecuniary profit from its publication, and by the loss of her elder sister, on whom she had leaned for that support which it is, in the usual course of nature, the part of the mother to bestow. She has commemorated that sister in the following lines :

" The first attachment of my earliest years,
Ere yet I knew to feel the attractive force
Of sacred friendship, was my love to her.
Our minds expanding, each succeeding year
Heightened our mutual friendship. Not a joy
E'er touched my soul, but when she shared a part.
When pierced with sorrow, her all-cheering smile
Could give me comfort. Well she knew to bear
Life's adverse scenes with calm, undaunted mind,
And placid resignation. Grace divine
Illumed her soul, and stamped its features there.

* * * * *

The best of friends ! Oh, how my bleeding heart
Recalls her tender love ! Of self unmindful,
For me she seemed to live ; for ever kind,
For ever studious to promote my good.
' She was my guide, my friend, my earthly all ; '
Heaven's choicest blessing. Not a single thought
Could lurk in close disguise. I knew to trust
This much loved sister with my inmost soul.

And must I lose her ! While unkind disease
Threatened a life so dear, my trembling heart
Sunk in o'erwhelming woe. Could prayers, or tears,
Could sleepless nights, or agonizing days,
And all the care of fond officious love
Avert thy fate, — sister, thou still hadst lived."

— p. 59.

Such reliance had she placed upon this sister that she could not endure the idea of being obliged to walk through life without her aid. But God, who tempereth the wind to the shorn lamb, so prepared her for the dreaded event, that when it came it did not prostrate her as she had feared. It was still a trial of great severity.

Miss Adams herself, speaking afterwards of the numerous cares which at that time bore down upon her, confessed that they were of beneficial effect, in exciting her to an energy of action that ordinary circumstances would never have elicited. By her efforts she procured from Congress the act of copy-right, prepared a second edition of her "*View of Religions*" for the press, and brought it out, in 1791, with considerable pecuniary profit. We scarcely need remark that she now employed another printer of more integrity than the one who had formerly defrauded her. She mentions with warm expressions of gratitude the kind assistance of the Rev. Dr. Freeman, who on this occasion lent her his knowledge and experience in negotiating with her printer.

Encouraged by the success of her book, she now determined on publishing another work, and forthwith commenced her "*History of New England*." In the selection of a subject she deviated widely from her prevailing habits of thought, which were highly imaginative; but followed the dictates of her judgment, which told her that it was necessary to avoid topics of an exciting tendency.

Notwithstanding the dryness of an historical subject, and the almost absolute dearth of materials for her work, she engaged in it with great ardor, visiting, where it was necessary, the archives of the different states and examining the early records. Surely there must have been a wonderful amount of energy woven into her character, that in defiance of physical weakness, injudicious education, the shrinking sensibility of her sex, and the barrenness of materials, she could resolve so firmly, and act so boldly and perseveringly. Her industry in searching out the "hidden mysteries" of mutilated manuscripts was nearly fatal to her eyes, causing the almost total loss of her sight for more than two years. Of course her book was delayed, and she was presented with the disheartening prospect of permanent poverty and blindness. Medical aid, however, restored her sight at last; and,

as she had not been idle even in her disabled condition, her "History" appeared in the year 1799. Its publication, in a pecuniary point of view, was unprofitable to her. She even lost money by it; and yet at this time it was the only history of New England.

The third edition of her "View of Religions," which had been increased by the addition of a hundred pages, soon after appeared; and again by Dr. Freeman's assistance she succeeded in relieving her pecuniary difficulties by the profits of her work. But this success was followed by reverses in her two next works, namely, the "View of the Christian Religion," and "An Abridgment of the History of New England." The sale of the latter book was injured by a contemporaneous publication of a similar character, which came before the public under circumstances that brought into question the fairness of a distinguished literary man of that day. The difficulties between Miss Adams and Dr. Morse are not yet forgotten, though she has scarcely alluded to them in her "Memoir." Her kindness of heart is manifest in this most charitable silence; and we hesitate where to fix the greatest admiration, on her forbearance as manifested in her book, or on that indomitable courage which sustained her under so many discouragements.

Her day of gloom was however now about to break into light and sunshine, and the mild but firm spirit which had endured so long and so patiently was soon to enjoy the pleasures of success and distinction.

Her reputation had extended through her own land, and was known abroad, so that when she commenced her "History of the Jews," she engaged in correspondence with more than one distinguished foreigner. She had occasion at this time, also, to visit Boston, where a pension was settled on her by several gentlemen of benevolent and public spirit. Among them was William Smith Shaw, Esq., whose name is here particularly mentioned for the sake of preventing a mistake into which the readers of the "Memoir" might be led. Miss Adams speaks of him as William Shaw, Esq. It was William S. Shaw, Esq. whose agency in the establishment of the Athenæum is well known, and who was private secretary to the elder President Adams, and not William Shaw, Esq., whose death had before this time placed him beyond the exercise of charity on earth.

Miss Adams now received the freedom of the Athenæum, and, surrounded by its numerous volumes, revelled in the delights of literature. She also became acquainted with Mr. Buckminster, whose kindness to her is recorded with a warmth that will come home to the hearts of many to whom his memory is endeared. From this time forward her life was one of comparative enjoyment, and we delight to remember that the old age of one who had suffered so much, and who had achieved so much for herself and her country, was the brightest portion of her life; that the garland of fame descended on her brow before that brow was cold in death; that the warm sunshine of universal regard illuminated her descent into the grave; and that when she closed her eyes on this world, it was not in the eager desire to escape from its miseries, but in the calm assurance of a blessed immortality.

Miss Adams examined the Scriptures seriously, dispassionately, and with great care, in order to make up her mind, on that authority, respecting the person of Christ; and of the conclusions at which she arrived she thus speaks in the closing paragraph of the autobiography:

"After removing to Boston, and residing in that city while the disputes upon Unitarian sentiments were warmly agitated, I read all that came in my way upon both sides of the question; and carefully examined the New Testament, with, I think, a sincere and ardent desire to know the truth. I deeply felt the difficulties upon both sides of the question; yet prevailingly give the preference to that class of Unitarians, who adopt the highest idea of the greatness and dignity of the Son of God." — p. 43.

Of her habitually serious and religious cast of mind, the following resolutions, found among her papers, are a sufficient proof.

"SERIOUS RESOLUTIONS.

"I resolve to read the Bible more attentively and diligently, and to be constant and fervent in prayer for divine illumination and direction.

"2d. To read less from curiosity and a desire to acquire worldly knowledge, and more for the regulation of my heart and life; consequently, to have my reading less desultory, and to read more books of practical divinity.

"3d. In choosing my friends and companions, to have a

greater regard to religious character than I have hitherto had.

"4th. To avoid such company as has a tendency to unsettle my mind respecting religious opinions.

"5th. To endeavour to preserve a firm reliance on Divine Providence, and to avoid all unreasonable worldly care and anxiety.

"6th. To pray and guard against loving my friends with that ardent attachment, and that implicit reliance upon them, which is incompatible with supreme love to, and trust in, God alone.

"7th. To endeavour to attain a spirit of forgiveness towards my enemies, and to banish from my mind all those feelings of resentment, which are incompatible with the spirit of the gospel." pp. 72, 73.

We copy the account given in the "Additional Notices" of her introduction to the late Mr. Buckminster, and of the intercourse to which it led.

"It was on a visit to Boston, that Miss Adams first saw Mr. Buckminster. He was then at college, and about sixteen years old. Those who knew him will not think her description of him an exaggerated one. 'He had then,' she said, 'the bloom of health on his cheek, and the fire of genius in his eye. I did not know from which world he came, whether from heaven or earth.' Though so young, he entered fully into her character; and before they parted, he gave her a short, but comprehensive sketch of the state of literature in France and Germany. After he became the Pastor of Brattle-Street Church, he, with Mr. Higginson, and Mr. Shaw, the active founder of the Athenæum, proposed to Miss Adams, who, from an enfeebled constitution, had begun to grow infirm, to remove to Boston; at the same time procuring for her, through the liberal subscription of a few gentlemen, an annuity for life. She had then commenced her 'History of the Jews'; and nothing could have been more favorable to its progress, or to her own ease of mind, than this benevolent arrangement. She could never speak of her benefactors without deep emotion.

"From the Rev. Mr. Buckminster she received the most judicious and extensive assistance. She was in the habit of visiting him in his study, and had his permission to come when she pleased, to sit and read there as long as she pleased, or take any book home and use it like her own. Perhaps people are never perfectly easy with each other, till they feel at liberty to be silent in each other's society. It was stipulated between them, that neither party should be obliged to talk. But her

own language will best describe her feelings. 'Mr. Buckminster would sometimes read for hours without speaking. But, occasionally, flashes of genius would break forth in some short observation, or sudden remark, which electrified me. I never could have gone on with my "History," without the use of his library. I was indebted to him for a new interest in life. He introduced me to a valuable circle of friends; and it was through him that I became acquainted with Mrs. Dearborn, whose kindness and attention to me have been unceasing. His character was the perfection of humanity. His intellectual powers were highly cultivated and ennobled. Yet even the astonishing vigor and brightness of his intellect were outdone by the goodness of his heart.

'No thought within his generous mind had birth,
But what he might have owned to heaven and earth.'

— pp. 75. — 77.

Her correspondents were numerous, and of the highest respectability, among whom particular mention is made of the elder President Adams, Bishop Grégoire, Mr. Cunningham, author of "The World without Souls," Miss Hannah More, and Mrs. Catharine Cappe.

It is often said that the fate of genius is usually cruel. But the assertion is not well founded, and in the life of Miss Adams we have a fair exhibition of the real cause of those sufferings which so often accompany talent. While the imagination predominates over the other faculties, we are unfitted for judicious effort, and rendered doubly susceptible of misery. This is an unhealthy mental state, and is often called genius. Let the judgment be summoned to its duty and be made the ruling mental power, and the path of life at once becomes less rugged, and we ourselves are better armed for conflict with its evils.